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# Codex Vaticanus No. 3773

(Codex Vaticanus B)

An  
Old Mexican Pictorial Manuscript in the Vatican Library

Published at the Expense of His Excellency the Duke of Loubat

Correspondent of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres  
of the Institute of France

Illustrated

by

Dr. Eduard Seler

Professor of American Linguistics, Ethnology, and Archaeology  
in the University of Berlin

First Half

Text of the Obverse Side

BERLIN AND LONDON

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ENGLISH EDITION

BY

A. H. KEANE

Late Vice-President Anthropological Institute  
of Great Britain and Ireland

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The old Mexican books may be likened to the mediæval monkish manuscripts, inasmuch as in them also the diligent hands of priests brought together the most diverse things that seemed worth knowing in those times and by that people, essays perhaps of very different origins, but such as reflect the knowledge of the period and the public. The *Tonalamatl* of the Aubin Collection is a unique specimen of such compilations; and for the materials treated in it we possess interpretations dating from a time when tradition had not yet died out. Hence here my task was relatively easy. For *Codex Fejérváry-Mayer* the work was already of a more difficult nature. And it is not without a certain hesitation that I submit the present inquiries, which venture to give a complete commentary on one of the most comprehensive of old Mexican books.

Of the eight-and-twenty sections contained in this work several have already been dealt with in my interpretations of the *Tonalamatl* of the Aubin Collection and of *Codex Fejérváry-Mayer*. Of course I could neither repeat what was there said, nor merely refer to the previous elucidations. Whoever takes up the present book has a right to find in it a running commentary on the sheets of *Codex Vaticanus*, and not be put off with references to explanations of other manuscripts for such commentaries. Moreover, various matters handled in my former books are here more clearly and accurately treated, and several points put right. And as my critics have frequently complained to me of the great difficulty of always reading about pictures that they have not before them, I have thought it necessary to give in the text such illustrations as seemed most needed for its right understanding.

Most of the sections in this book are, however, new. Thus the very first, where the duty presented itself of describing and explaining the  $2 \times 52$  little figures which accompany the *Tonalamatl* disposed in columns of five members. For here there was no prospect of arriving at a clear issue save by the inductive method, by careful comparisons of the pictures given in the different manuscripts. The subsequent sections will be found more pleasant reading. For I really think I have found the right solution for the majority of the sections. And if on the whole much still remains hypothetical, if my fellow-experts will doubtless judge differently in many points, and to my successors room be even left for many improvements, I still hope with the present commentary to have provided a foundation for further developments, and I believe I have thereby done all in my power to make more generally intelligible the weighty sources of knowledge which Your Excellency has with such great munificence placed at the disposal of the whole learned world.

Eduard Scler.

Steglitz, August 1902.

## History and Character of the Manuscript.

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There is not much to be said about the origin and history of this manuscript, with which in the year 1896 His Excellency the Duke of Loubat opened the series of his facsimile reproductions of Mexican manuscripts. What can be ascertained on the subject has been clearly set forth by the estimable chief librarian of the Vatican Library, P. F. Ehrle, S.J., in a small pamphlet which accompanied the facsimile reproduction. From his researches, it appears that this manuscript, together with the other bearing the No. 3738, reached the Vatican Library probably at the time when Cardinal Amulio was librarian, that is, in the years 1565-1570. Nothing is known as to whence and by whom it was brought to the library.

Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, Director of the Mexican National Museum, has subjected the condition and material of the manuscript to a thorough examination, and sent a report on the subject to the extraordinary session of the Congress of Americanists, held in Mexico on October 15-20, 1895. Of this report a reprint likewise accompanied the issue of the facsimile reproduction of our manuscript as a separate document. From this most careful and thorough description I learn that the Vatican 3773 consists of ten strips of deer-skin, which are 12½ to 13 cm. high and of varying length, and firmly glued together, forming a single strip 7.35 metres long, which folds together in 49 sheets of equal width. Both sides of this strip are coated with fine white stucco, on which the paintings are executed. The same character, as we know, is also shown by the other manuscripts of the Codex Borgia group, as well as by those from the Atlantic seaboard, and of the Zapotec and Mixtec provinces—the Vienna manuscript, the Codex Nuttall, the Codice Colombino (Codex Dorenberg), and the Codex Becker, and also the Mays manuscripts. But in another respect the Vatican 3773 is unique of its kind, in that it still preserves both of the wooden covers, which were glued to the outside of the first and last sheet, in order to give a support to the painted strip when folded up, and protect it from injury. In our Vatican 3773 the upper board, indicating the beginning of the manuscript, was embellished at the four corners with little inlaid turquoise disks, and of these that in the lower left corner is still preserved. The reading runs on the first side of the folded strip from left to right, on the others from right to left.

Judged from its contents and the style of its paintings, this Codex belongs to the group of manuscripts which I have designated as the *Codex Borgia Group*,<sup>1</sup> in which, besides our manuscript, are also to be included the Codex Borgia, the Codex Bologna, the Fojérváry-Mayer, and the Codex Laud.

<sup>1</sup> 'The Codex Borgia and Related Aztec Picture Writings,' *Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft* 22 January 1887. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xix. pp. 105-114. *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde*, vol. i. pp. 123-144.



## A. Obverse Side.

### I. The Tonalamatl disposed in Columns of Five Members.

SHEET 1-8 (= KINGSBOROUGH 48-56).

The manuscript begins with the *Tonalamatl*, the Alpha and Omega of the Mexican and Central American priestly lore. This, as we know, covered a period which was determined by the combination of the numerals 1-13 in continuous series with twenty signs indicating as many days, and consequently comprised a total of  $20 \times 13$ , or 260 days.

This Calendar did not serve exactly as a measure of time, for which, indeed, it is little suited, since it is not based, or at least not directly based, on astronomic observations; nor was it the expression of any uniform recurring motion in time, but rather owed its origin, at least in part, to arbitrary determinations. But as the twenty signs lying at its basis were taken from definite natural objects, hence on the one hand directly awakened definite conceptions, while numerous other conceptions were indirectly introduced by them, and as, moreover, the Mexicans, like other peoples, also attributed definite properties to numbers, or else associated definite notions with them, as lastly the natural grouping in 20 units of 13 days each, or 13 units of 20 days each, created within this space of time certain periods which, by a very natural mental process, seemed to be in a measure dominated by the initial member, this calendric system was inevitably predestined to become an instrument in the hands of the soothsayer, giving support to his forecasts on the result of any course to be taken on a given day, on the destiny of a child born on such or such a day, and so on. Hence also the name *Tonalamatl* applied to this period of  $13 \times 20$  days is to be translated by the expression BOOK OF FATE ('libro de suertes ó de ventura'),<sup>1</sup> or 'BOOK OF GOOD AND BAD,' i.e. 'Lucky and Unlucky Days.'

As I have already stated, the *Tonalamatl* was disposed according to its origin in a natural way, either in 13 units each of 20 days, or else in 20 units each of 13 days. The latter arrangement was the more favoured, because in it the initial members of the sections had all the number 'one.' This is the arrangement observed in the soothsayers' books proper, the assumption being that the initial member, or the deity associated with it, had some influence also on all the other days of the section, of the week, as we may call it. This arrangement of the *Tonalamatl* we find in the *Tonalamatl* of the Aubin collection, in the *Tonalamatl* which forms the first part of the fine Codex Borbonicus, in that contained in the Codex Telleriano-Remensis and in its copy, the Vatican A (No. 3738); and we shall have occasion to recognise the same arrangement of the *Tonalamatl* on certain sheets of our manuscript also, as well as in the corresponding parts of the related codices.

<sup>1</sup> Torquemada, *Monarquía Indígena* 10, chap. 37. Cf. the *Tonalamatl* of the Aubin collection, Eglish ed., London, 1901, p. 8.

When I above remarked that the *Tonalamatl* is not based on astronomical observations, but owes its origin, at least partly, to an arbitrary determination, the statement is to be taken with some qualification. In the first place, the number 20 is not arbitrary, for it represents the sum-total of what a man can count in himself, that is to say, the sum of the fingers and toes; hence amongst the Mexicans, as amongst the other Central American peoples, this number became the foundation, the unit, on which their numerical system was built. But on further consideration I was led to the conclusion that even the number 13 is not to be regarded as a purely accidental or arbitrary factor, but that in its selection certain astronomical observations, in fact those of the planet *Venus*, have had some influence. It has been shown by Förstmann for the Dresden Maya manuscripts,<sup>1</sup> and by myself for the Borgia Group,<sup>2</sup> that the synodic revolution of Venus, which averages 583 days 22 hours 6 minutes and 40 seconds, has been represented with the somewhat inaccurate value of 584 days in various parts of the specified manuscripts. Now this Venus period of 584 days stands in such a relation to that of the solar year of 365 days, as assumed by the Mexicans, that eight solar years are exactly equal to five revolutions of Venus. But if in this larger period, in which solar years and Venus periods go evenly, we try to separate both the 8 and the 5, we shall find that this larger period =  $5 \times 8 \times 73$  days, the solar year =  $5 \times 73$ , and the Venus period =  $8 \times 73$  days. Now, I believe, as I first announced in my treatise on the Monuments of Copan and Quiriguá,<sup>3</sup> that the ancient Mexicans, or whoever are to be credited with the invention of the *Tonalamatl*, formed a unit from the solar year and the Venus period, a unit which would have comprised  $5 \times 73 + 8 \times 73$  or  $13 \times 73$  days. If this period be taken as a unit, the next higher period, in accordance with the vigesimal numerical system of the Mexicans, would be  $20 \times 13 \times 73$  days, which is the well-known cycle of 52 years, the Mexican era. Now, if this era be compared with the solar year and the Venus period, we see that here the 260 corresponds to the five of the solar year and to the eight of the Venus period. And thus it was, as I think, that, by combining the solar year with the Venus period, the Mexicans, or whoever else invented the *Tonalamatl*, arrived at the number 13 and the period of 260 days.

But whatever may be thought of this, it is certain that the Venus period of 584 days became a determinant for a SECOND ARRANGEMENT of the *Tonalamatl*, which I shall have presently to discuss. This period of 584 days has the peculiar property that only five of the twenty signs fall on its initials. If, for instance, the first period begins with the first of the twenty signs, the initial day of the second will contain the fifth in its name, that of the third the ninth, that of the fourth the thirteenth, that of the fifth the seventeenth, and the initial day of the sixth period again the first sign. It is this fact that in my opinion offers an explanation of the remarkable arrangement of the *Tonalamatl* IN VERTICAL COLUMNS OF FIVE SIGNS EACH, as we see it carried out in the eight first sheets of our manuscript, and as it is also quite frequently followed in other parts of this group of manuscripts, and especially in the Maya documents.

This arrangement, in which on the first eight sheets of Vatican 3773 the *Tonalamatl* is presented to the observer, obviously represents the second chief form of the *Tonalamatl*, the form most favoured by the ancient priestly savants. It is so typical that we see it carried out in exactly the same way on the first sheets of two other related manuscripts of this group, the Codex Borgia and Codex Bologna.

In our manuscript we see displayed, in a broad band filling the central part of the first eight sheets, the twenty day counts, repeated thirteen times in five cross rows, which are disposed in  $4 \times 13 = 52$  vertical rows. On the first sheet the reading begins at the left end of the lowest of the five cross rows, hence runs

<sup>1</sup> *Erörterungen zur Maya-Handschrift der Königl. öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden* (1896), pp. 66, 67.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Venusperiode in den Bilderschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe.* *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxi. (1891), pp. 346-363. *Uebersichtliche Abhandlungen*, vol. I. pp. 618-667.

<sup>3</sup> *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxi. (1891), p. 737.



from left to right and from below upwards. The numerals 1-13, which are to be combined, twenty times repeated, with these  $13 \times 20$  signs, are not given, and are to be supplied by the observer. The signs themselves are the same as in the other Mexican manuscripts. These I have fully described in my elucidations of the *Tonalamatl* of the Aubin collection (Berlin, London, 1900-1901), pp. 9-15, and it must here suffice to refer to that description. In the explanatory tables appended to the present treatise they are given with their names only.

In precisely the same way the  $13 \times 20$  day-counts are disposed on the first sheets of Codex Borgia. Here also they stand in five cross rows, which are arranged in  $4 \times 13 = 52$  vertical rows, and form a broad band which fills the central part of the first eight sheets. Only the reading of this manuscript differs, as it runs from right to left on both sides of the folded strip covered with paintings. Hence in Codex Borgia the first sign *cipactli*, with which the reading begins, is to be looked for at the right end of the cross rows of the first sheet. But, as in Vatican 3773, of the cross rows themselves the lowest is the first, and the others are to be taken in the direction from below upwards. As in Vatican 3773, in Codex Borgia also no numerals are given beside the counts. A remarkable peculiarity of Codex Borgia is the fact that, by means of a diacritical sign—the imprint of a human foot executed in a black colour, and figured beside certain day-counts—the whole *Tonalamatl* appears as if divided up into twice nine groups of nine and twice seven groups of seven days:—

$$9 \cdot 9 + 7 \cdot 7 + 9 \cdot 9 + 7 \cdot 7 = 260.$$

And it is an important fact, that the first of these diacritical signs is given, not with the first day [1] *cipactli*, but with the fourth day, the day [4] *cuetzpalin*, the same day from which the Yucatecs were accustomed to count the series of the twenty days.

In Codex Bologna much the same reading is followed as that of our Vatican 3773. We accordingly see on the eight first sheets of this third manuscript the  $13 \times 20$  day-counts of the *Tonalamatl* exhibited in exactly the same way as in our manuscripts, following each other from left to right and from below upwards. But in the 260 compartments, formed by the five cross rows and the  $4 \times 13 = 52$  vertical rows, Vaticanus 3773 and Codex Borgia show us the pictures alone of the 20 day-counts thirteen times repeated, whereas on the eight first sheets of Codex Bologna in each of the 260 compartments are seen two signs or two pictures, of which the first only belongs to the series of the twenty day-counts, while the others are seen to be members of the series of the nine gods, of the so-called *Señores de la noche*, which in the *Tonalamatl* of the Aubin collection, in Codex Borbonicus, in Telleriano-Remensis, and Vatican A (3738) accompany the row of the day-counts in a continuous series. In my elucidation of the *Tonalamatl* of the Aubin collection<sup>1</sup> I have set forth the reasons which make it probable that these nine signs or nine gods are to be regarded as the guardians of the nine night hours. Lastly, as in Codex Borgia, on the first sheets of Codex Bologna the *Tonalamatl* disposed in columns of five members is distributed in groups of  $9 \cdot 9 + 7 \cdot 7 + 9 \cdot 9 + 7 \cdot 7$  days by means of the diacritical sign of the imprint of a foot figured in definite compartments, and here also the beginning of this arrangement lies not with the first but with the fourth day, the day [4] *cuetzpalin*.

In the explanatory tables accompanying the present treatise I have supplied in the *Tonalamatl* represented on the first eight sheets of our manuscript the numerals which the writer of the manuscript omitted to give beside the day-counts. Hence a glance at these tables will enable the reader to perceive that the *Tonalamatl* disposed in columns of five members, with which our manuscript, as well as Codex Borgia and Codex Bologna, begin, has the property in common with the other, with the first arrangement of the *Tonalamatl* occurring in the soothsayers' books proper (*Tonalamatl* of the Aubin collection, Codex Borbonicus), that the initial members of the sections or groups have the

<sup>1</sup> Berlin and London, 1900-1901, pp. 18-21.

number one beside their signs. But here there are no 20 groups, as with the first arrangement of the *Tonalamatl*, but four main divisions, which result from this second arrangement of the *Tonalamatl*, consisting of 13 columns of five members each. Thus the arrangement in vertical columns of five members each causes the *Tonalamatl* of itself to fall into four divisions of equal size, or into four quarters, and this to those old priestly savants must have seemed a special advantage of this arrangement, or rather as a special mystery. For in this way, without more ado, a relation was established with the *four quarters* of the heavens and with the powers thought of in association with them—a point of view from which the Mexicans were indeed already accustomed to regard all things and all events. That this relation was thought of in connection with these four main divisions is shown, amongst other considerations, from what I shall have more particularly to mention in the explanation of some subsequent sheets. It will there be seen that all the five signs of the initial column of the *third Tonalamatl quarter* were considered to be the days on which the female deities called *Ciuateteōl*, 'goddesses,' *Ciuapipiltin*, 'princesses,' who dwelt in the west, in the *Ciuatlampa*, the 'Region of the Women,' descended on earth and had power over mankind.

Now, as with the first arrangement of the *Tonalamatl*, i.e. of the book of divination proper, the 20 groups in which the *Tonalamatl* is disposed under this arrangement are accompanied by the enlarged figure of a deity who was conceived to be associated with the respective groups or with their initial signs, and was thought of as influencing them; in the same way we also see that the *Tonalamatl* disposed in columns of five members, as represented on the first eight sheets of our manuscript, of Codex Borgia, and of Codex Bologna, is similarly provided with pictorial representations displaying either deities or 'symbolic figures or groups. But they are not large figures corresponding to the four main divisions of this arrangement of the *Tonalamatl*, but to each of  $4 \times 13 = 52$  columns are attached two figures of about equal size, which together form a cross row on each of the upper and lower margins of the sheets, while the centre is occupied by the bands filled with the  $13 \times 20$  signs of the *Tonalamatl*. With this distribution of the accompanying figures my primary notion was that the several columns of five days each were illustrated by these figures, that these figures were in fact effigies or symbols which bore some relation to the days with which they stood, or to the first of them, the day figured in the first (lowest) row. One circumstance, however, is opposed to this view. In all three of the pictorial documents containing the *Tonalamatl* disposed in columns of five members these upper and lower cross rows of figures are present in more or less easily recognised variants, but essentially the same. But, as I shall have more fully to point out further on, it is seen that in one group of the manuscripts members have been inserted or else omitted, so that, for instance, a portion of the figures in Vatican 3773 and in Bologna, when compared with those of Codex Borgia, appear to be displaced, while further on the lower of the two rows, but not the upper, coincides with those of Codex Borgia. This can be understood only on the assumption that the figures do not exactly belong each singly or in pairs to one of the columns of day-counts, but that they are intended to illustrate larger sections, presumably those very four main divisions of the *Tonalamatl* which correspond to the four quarters of the heavens. In harmony with this view is the circumstance that very many of those figures seem to represent, not any particular divine persons, who were perhaps to be regarded as tutelary deities of the several columns of day-counts, or else of the first sign of the same, but merely as symbolical figures or groups of such figures. But it is evident that for each of the *Tonalamatl* quarters as a whole particular divine persons are given as guardians or rulers. Such are the figures which we see represented with the *initial signs of the four main divisions*, in the lower of both cross rows, since the series of counts of the *Tonalamatl* are to be read from below upwards. These, however, are to be recognised clearly and distinctly only in Codex Borgia. But there can be no doubt that in the corresponding places of the other manuscripts the same persons should be pictured as in Codex Borgia, or at least figures related to them.

In the first quarter of the *Tonalamatl*, with the first sign *ce cipactli*, 'one Crocodile,' we see the person at Fig. 1 in Codex Borgia, on the right side of the lower row of Sheet 1. This is the god *Quetzalcoatl*, the Wind God, with his Huastec cone-shaped cap (*copilli*), his fillet in which are stuck the instruments of mortification—the bone dagger (*omitl*), and the agave-leaf spike (*suitzli*)—and the fan-like neck ornament (*cuapaltonotl*), consisting of black feathers with a few projecting red ones. But the god does not wear his familiar mask with its peculiar oral part protruding like a bird's beak; nor has he his usual face-painting,<sup>1</sup> but is figured as a priest, that is, with body and face painted black, with a red spot on the temple, like that of the priests in Codex Mendoza. And he holds the priestly implements, bone dagger (*omitl*) and agave-leaf spike (*suitzli*), on which the blood is shown both realistically and also symbolically by the picture of a flower; the incense-pouch also (*copalxiquipilli*) is held in his hands. Moreover, the god stands on a water surface, the central part of which is unfortunately no longer distinct, owing to the strong abrasion from which the lower margin of these sheets has suffered. Here we are reminded of the water, the East Sea, into which the god descends after reaching the goal of his wanderings in *Coahuacalco*. But more probably this water is merely intended to indicate the tank in which the



Fig. 1. Quetzalcoatl, the Wind God, as Priest. Ruler of the first *Tonalamatl* quarter *ce cipactli*, of the Region of the East. Codex Borgia 1 (= Kingsborough 38).



Fig. 2. Tree of the East? Symbol of the first *Tonalamatl* quarter, *ce cipactli*. Codex Borgia 1. After Kingsborough's drawing.



Fig. 3. The Priest of the Rain God. Ruler of the first *Tonalamatl* quarter, *ce cipactli*, of the Region of the East. Codex Vaticanus 5713, Sheet 1 (= Kingsborough 40).

priests go to bathe after rising at midnight and mortifying themselves by drawing blood from the ears, tongue, or other parts of the body. The first *Tonalamatl* quarter denoted for the Mexicans the first region of the heavens, i.e. the *East*, which by them was regarded as a land of fertility, abundance, and prosperity. Here *Quetzalcoatl* stands as the expression of this region, for he is the priest who, by his mortifications and penitential exercises, by the worship which he offers to the gods, ensures the fruitfulness, the plenty, and increase of the land. It is *Quetzalcoatl* that bestows wealth. Of a man that rapidly became rich the Mexicans were wont to say, 'He is a son of *Quetzalcoatl*!'<sup>2</sup>

As regards the other two manuscripts, in Codex Bologna the first compartment of the lower row is unfortunately completely obliterated by friction. In Kingsborough's time more seems to have been still preserved. If Kingsborough's draughtsman has seen correctly, Codex Borgia would here show in the first field of the lower row a deviation from both the other manuscripts. Here the god *Quetzalcoatl* himself would not seem to be figured as an expression of the first *Tonalamatl* quarter, and of the region of the east, but for him is substituted a symbol (cf. Fig. 2), the Tree of the East, on which I have given some details in my elucidation of Codex Fejérváry-Mayer,<sup>3</sup> and which I shall have again to deal with in the present commentary at Sheet 17 of our manuscript.

<sup>1</sup> On *Quetzalcoatl*'s mask and face-painting and the other peculiarities of his dress, see Heller, 'The *Tonalamatl* of the Ashik Collection,' Berlin and London, 1900-1901, pp. 65, 46.

<sup>2</sup> Sahagún 10, chap. 29, §1.

<sup>3</sup> Berlin and London, 1901-1902, pp. 8, 10.

On the other hand, in the first compartment on the lower row of the first sheet in our manuscript, Vatican 3773, again another figure is pictured (Fig. 3), which is shown to be a variant of the Codex Borgia figure, our Fig. 1. Here also a picture of *Quetzalcoatl* is certainly to be recognised. We see a figure, who has the anterior part of his face painted red, the posterior blue, wearing a fillet painted in two colours, blue and green, the colours of the Rain God, a band of the same colours falling down over his back, and a priest's vestment (*xicalli*) painted blue and green, and in his hand holding a green bunch. The facial painting reminds one of *Xolotl*, *Quetzalcoatl's* twin brother. But it will doubtless be more correct to assume that, instead of *Quetzalcoatl*, here a simple priest is depicted, in fact the priest of the Rain God, of *Tlaloc*. For it was these priests of *Tlaloc* who, by their mortifications, had to obtain rain, and thereby provide for the prosperity of the people, for the necessary abundance of supplies. To the figure of a rain-priest in this place must undoubtedly be assigned the same significance as to the *Quetzalcoatl* figure of Codex Borgia, and, like it, the rain-priest of our manuscript also stands on a water vessel, rises from the surface of water contained in a reservoir.



Fig. 4. *Tezcatlipoca*,  
Ruler of the second *Tonalammatl*  
quarter, *ce ocoatl*,  
of the Region of the North.  
Codex Borgia 2 (= Kingsborough 36).



Fig. 5. *Tezcatlipoca's* Leg?  
As a symbol of the second  
*Tonalammatl* quarter, *ce ocoatl*,  
of the Region of the North.  
Codex Borgia 2.



Fig. 6. *Tezcatlipoca*, Ruler of the  
second *Tonalammatl* quarter,  
*ce ocoatl*, of the Region of the North.  
Codex Vaticanus 3773, Sheet 3  
(= Kingsborough 51).

I pass on to the second *Tonalammatl* quarter. With the first sign of this quarter, the day *ce ocoatl*, 'one Jaguar,' is seen Fig. 4 in the first compartment on the lower row of Sheet 3 of Codex Borgia. But it is distinctly a divine figure, in fact that of *Tezcatlipoca*, here in a sense depicted in his springing attitude. We see the head and arm of this god in his characteristic painting, that is, body and limbs black, face in black and yellow cross bands (*ixtlan tliltlan*). On his head is seen the warrior's headdress, the hair twisted (*totzocotli*) on one side, the nasal rod with the square plique falling over the mouth, the forked hearn-feather adornment (*actaxelli*) in his hair, and on his temple the smoking mirror (*tezcatl ipoca*), the symbol of war; lastly, before his mouth the rope of five beads ending in a flower, which symbolised the macuil *moctil*, the God of Revels, the Lord of the Dance-house, another form of the god *Tezcatlipoca*.<sup>1</sup> But below is figured *Tezcatlipoca's* leg, which is again one of his distinctive marks, the foot being torn off and replaced by a smoking mirror, from which water and fire (*all tlactinotli*), the emblem of war, are often seen issuing.

Our study of the two other figures in the manuscripts is facilitated by the certainty with which that of Codex Borgia is here identified, despite the scaling of the layer of stucco forming the ground of the painting, a scaling which is also of frequent occurrence on the lower margin of this second double sheet.

<sup>1</sup> On this cf. 'Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königl. Museum für Völkerkunde,' vol. vi. pts. 2-4, Berlin, 1909, pp. 126-140.

Certainly, we should have scarcely thought of suspecting any relation between the representations had we nothing but the reproduction of Kingsborough's draughtsman with which to compare them.

The little that is still to be seen in the first compartment on the lower row of Sheet 3 in Codex Bologna is here reproduced in Fig. 5. We detect a human leg painted a black colour, and below the knee coiled round with a thong in which is stuck an object ending off in a flower. The latter must in all probability represent an agave-leaf spike (*uitzli*), where the bloom will indicate the blood which was drawn by the penitents when mortifying themselves, and, as we know, was smeared over such agave-leaf spikes. Where we should expect to find the foot belonging to the leg, we see a figure which can scarcely be any longer made out in the facsimile of the manuscript, but in Kingsborough is distinctly pictured as a green jewel (*chalchicuitl*), and in the centre shows a blue field spanned by a cross beam. I can but conjecture that here also the foot is indicated as severed and replaced by a mirror or a jewelled disk. On the facsimile sheet beside the disk clouds of smoke seem to be clearly shown.

In its details it is also difficult to explain the corresponding figure in our manuscript, which occurs on Sheet 3 in the lower section of the column indicated by the number 14 (Fig. 6). But beyond doubt



Fig. 7. The Earth Goddess with the head of the Rain God in the Maize house. Ruler of the third *Tonalamatl* quarter, or *moztli*, of the Region of the West. Codex Borgia 5 (= Kingsborough 24), lowest row.



Fig. 8. The Earth Goddess, Ruler of the third *Tonalamatl* quarter, or *moztli*, of the Region of the West. Codex Bologna 5, lowest row.



Fig. 9. The Earth Goddess, Ruler of the third *Tonalamatl* quarter, or *moztli*, of the Region of the West. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Sheet 5 (= Kingsborough 53), lowest row.

above is figured a *Tzacatlipoca* head with its characteristic facial painting, the *ixtlan tlaltlaxan*. Only here in Vatican 3773 it is not a black head, as in Codex Borgia, but a red one, a *Tatlantlhuqui Tzacatlipoca*. Before the mouth fire seems to be shown, and below is seen an animal's face, presumably a scorpion's.

*Tzacatlipoca*, who is the god of the *Tzacatl* feast which the Mexicans kept at the time when the sun stood at the zenith above their city,<sup>1</sup> hence was preparing to pass from the southern to the northern part of the sky, appears in the pictorial documents quite frequently as representative of the northern quarter of the world. Nor is it the picture-writings alone that associate him with this region. A tradition, that for instance which is preserved in the *Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas*,<sup>2</sup> relates of him that 'the constellation of the Great Bear descends to the water, because it is *Tzacatlipoca* who has his seat there' (in the north heaven). He is essentially the dark, the nocturnal being, the wizard in a pre-eminent sense: the *Itzli*, the sharp, cold stone, the god of the sacrificial knife, as the representative of drought. And the ancient Mexicans saw in the quarter of the North the realm of Drought, of Darkness, and of Death.

In the third *Tonalamatl* quarter Fig. 7 stands with the initial sign *ee moztli*, 'one Deer,' in the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Vereffentlichungen aus dem König. Museum f. Völkerkunde*, vol. vi, pts. 2 & 4, pp. 66, 125, 134.

<sup>2</sup> S. Joaquín García Icañbalco, *Nueva Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México*, iii, p. 238, and *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, ii, p. 88.

first compartment on the lower row of Sheet 5 in Codex Borgia. A few lines have been supplied from Kingsborough's drawing; this restoration, however, is introduced only in those places where it seemed justified by what is still extant in the original, and only so far as such restoration was needed to make the figure intelligible. As we see, it is a female figure, clothed in the *cuiltl*, the enagua, the cloth that the Mexican women wrapped round their hips; on this figure was placed as a head the head of *Tlaloc*, the Rain God. But the latter, if Kingsborough's draughtsman has observed it correctly, wears the *yacometzli*, the Huastec crescent-shaped plate, in his nose, this being the distinctive mark of the Earth Goddess, who came from Huastecoland, and of the pulque gods, who were thought to have their homes in the same region. The whole figure is overshadowed with maize; she is seated in a maize house, a house made of maize ears (*cintli*), which are still clearly visible behind her seat and behind her neck; and of the male efflorescence of maize (*micauatl*), whose tips project forward above her head.

The figure in the corresponding place of the other two manuscripts is somewhat differently conceived. In Codex Bologna (Fig. 8) it is still clear that a woman was intended to be represented. But here she wears a death's head as her head, and holds a sacrificial knife in her hand. One form of the Earth Goddess, who was worshipped in *Colhuacan* under the name of *Ciuacuani*, was represented in Mexico with a death's head as her head, and for the most part also with jaguar paws at her hands and feet. One of the best known and most characteristic of her effigies is the idol of *Tehuacan*,<sup>1</sup> made of white stone, which is now in the Museo Nacional de México. And an image of this goddess is also the colossal statue known by the unsuitable name of *Teoyomiqui*, which on August 13, 1790, was found buried beneath the pavement of the great square in Mexico.<sup>2</sup> Only this image is supposed to be beheaded, and the head replaced by two snakes' heads darting out from the wound. Our Fig. 8, from the Codex Bologna, we must also regard as the Earth Goddess. What the artist of Codex Borgia further intended to symbolise when he placed the head of *Tlaloc*, the Rain God, on the female form, Fig. 7, the draughtsman of Codex Bologna has endeavoured to illustrate by representing the form, Fig. 8, in er before a water-vessel. Lastly, I recognise a reminiscence of the maize house of Fig. 7 in the green figure, shooting upwards step fashion, which in Fig. 8 is seen at the back of the goddess.

At the beginning of Sheet 5 in the lowest compartment of column 27 our Vatican 3773 has a form (Fig. 9) which, by the death's head which it wears on its head, shows itself to be a counterpart to the Codex Bologna, Fig. 8. Judging from the picture of the Vatican alone we should not recognise a female with any certainty. A comparison, however, with the other two manuscripts justifies the assumption in this case too. Moreover, the outstretched jaguar claws recall the just-mentioned well-known *Ciuacuani* effigies. Below the figure wavy lines are drawn, and the space between them filled in with a yellow colour, which, however, was perhaps really intended to be green. On this ground rises an object which is obviously intended to represent some plant form, a flowering tree or a maize stalk.

For the Mexicans the third *Tonalamatl* quarter indicated the *third* region of the world, the West. This they called *ciuatlanpa*, the region of the women, for it was regarded by them as the realm of the Earth Goddess, and as the land where the sun descends to the dead. But for that very reason for them it was also the home of the maize plant, the *Ciuacilli*, the maize house, for it is the earth that produces the maize and all vegetation. And it was also regarded by them as a region of superabundant water. Wherever all four quarters of the world are represented on the same sheet in Codex Borgia, and also in our manuscript, the third quarter exhibits both a sky overcast with dense clouds and swollen waters, which threaten to drown the maize plants. We see at once that these are the very elements which are symbolised in the pictures that have been figured in our three manuscripts with the initial signs of the third *Tonalamatl* quarter as its rulers.

<sup>1</sup> E. T. Hamy, *Deuxes Americaines* (Paris 1884), ii. p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Gama, *Das Piedras*, i. p. 10.

For the fourth *Tonalamatl* quarter, which begins with *ce zochilt*, 'one Flower,' and is delineated on Sheets 7 and 8 of the three manuscripts, I would take as rulers, not the figure represented in the first compartment of the lower cross row, but the one in the first compartment of the upper cross row combined with the figure in the lower row. For in all three manuscripts a distinct divine personage is here depicted only in the upper cross row. This deity is *Tonatzih*, the *Sun God*, descending from above, whereas in the lower row we have another figure, which, as can be recognised from the series of associated forms, is intended to symbolise the *Stone Knife God (Itztl)*, or *human sacrifice*. In point of fact, in the Mexican pictorial writings the Death God is usually placed over against the Sun God. So it is in the tenth section of the soothsayers' books proper, Sheet 10 of the *Tonalamatl* of the Aubin collection, Sheet 10 of *Codex Borbonicus*, and fol 15 (= Kingsborough 35, 36) of Telleriano-Remensis, fol 23 (at the back) and 24 of *Codex Vaticanus (A)*, No. 3738 (= Kingsborough 35, 36). But that the *Sun God* is to be taken as the proper ruler of the *Tonalamatl* quarter and of the sign *ce zochilt* is shown by a figure in the pictorial document in the Vienna I.R. Court Library which I have already once figured in my elucidation of *Codex Fejervary-Mayer*, and here reproduce at Fig. 13, where we see the *Sun God* and the sign *ce zochilt* corresponding exactly one with the other, and each represented in a solar picture. And in fact *Hun akpu*, the Quiché translation of the name *ce zochilt*, 'one Flower,'



Fig. 10. *Tonatzih*, the Sun God, ruler of the fourth *Tonalamatl* quarter, *ce zochilt*, of the Region of the South. *Codex Borgia* 7 (topmost row).



Fig. 11. *Tonatzih*, the Sun God, ruler of the fourth *Tonalamatl* quarter, *ce zochilt*, of the Region of the South. *Codex Bologna* 7, topmost row.



Fig. 12. *Tonatzih*, the Sun God, ruler of the fourth *Tonalamatl* quarter, *ce zochilt*, of the Region of the South. *Codex Vaticanus* 3773, Sheet 7 (topmost row).

has become the name of the hero who plays such a great part in the *PoPopol Vuh*, the *Saga* book of the Quichés, and at the end of his exploits mounts to the sky as the *Sun*. But that this contrast—*Sun God* and *Death God*, the god in the bright sky and the god dwelling in the dark interior of the earth—was generally felt and also specially embodied in this sign of the fourth *Tonalamatl* quarter and of the fourth quarter of the heavens, a remarkable proof is again presented to us in the land of the *Mayas*. *Hun akpu*, the Yucatec translation of the name *ce zochilt*, 'one Flower,' is given by Landa as the name of the *Lord of the Realm of the Dead*, under the form *Hunhou*, which is obviously derived by a simple contraction and elision from *Hun akpu*.

At Fig. 10 is seen the picture of the *Sun God Tonatzih*, ruler of the sign *ce zochilt*, 'one Flower,' as he is depicted on Sheet 7 (= Kingsborough 32) of *Codex Borgia*. It is a figure painted red, the colour of the *Sun God*, with flame-coloured hair, which is held together by the fillet of the *Sun God*, consisting of jewelled disks, and on the frontal side ornamented with a conventional bird's head. The god has the solar disk between his legs, as if he were riding on it, and comes from above down to the earth, holding in one hand an axe (*tepotli*), in the other a bow dagger (*owitl*) and an agave-leaf spike (*nitelli*), the implements of mortification. Before or below him are seen two eyes with arched eyebrow, which are drawn round and *en face* like the eyes of a monster. Perhaps these eyes are intended to symbolise the open, the unclouded, pitilessly working, glaring sun.

In the corresponding part of Codex Bologna (Fig. 11) the Sun God is also painted a red colour, and has the solar disk between, or rather under, his legs. Here also he comes down head over heels; but I am not quite clear as to the meaning of the staff which he grasps in both hands.

In our manuscript, owing to the above-mentioned displacement which has affected a number of the pictures, the Sun God is figured, not in the first column of this section of the *Tomalamm*, but in the second, column 41. Here also (Fig. 12) he descends from on high, but is not drawn in full figure, only half

of his body being shown emerging from the sun. As in Codex Borgia, he holds an axe in his hand. But a peculiarity of our manuscript is the stream of blood which accompanies the whole figure, and issues from the solar disk beside the god.

At the beginning of the lower row, where in the other *Tomalamm* quarters we saw the chief ruler of the corresponding section represented, here is figured, as I have already above stated, the counterpart of the Sun God, the *Stone Knife God*, who represents sacrificial death. In Codex Borgia (Fig. 14) and in our manuscript (Fig. 16) his body and limbs are painted a black colour, but in Codex Bologna apparently white. In our manuscript (Fig. 16) he has the facial painting (*istlan tliltlan*) of the god *Tzucatlilpoca*, which consists of alternating light and black stripes, but in Codex Bologna (Fig. 15), on the contrary, two longitudinal black stripes on a white ground, that is, the facial painting of *Itlalwotlshyutl*, the God of the Stone, of Cold, of Punishment. In Codex Bologna it looks as if the figure were in the act of cutting open his own breast with a stone knife (Fig. 15), whereas in Codex Borgia (Fig. 14), where unfortunately the corresponding compartment is certainly much damaged, the god decidedly seems to be holding an agave-leaf spike in his hand, although the upward spurt of copious blood shows that here the breast is thought of as cut open. In our manuscript (Fig. 16) I cannot venture to determine with certainty the nature of the object which the figure holds in his hand. It might just as well be an incense ladle; the red notches, however, which radiate from it, must again denote blood.

The fourth *Tomalamm* quarter indicates the *fourth region of the heavens, the South*. Nor need I perhaps advance any special proof to show that this region is fittingly symbolised by the unclouded descending sun, by the god wounded with a sharp incision, and by images of death.

But what is the meaning of all the other pictures which are seen figured in long rows on the first eight sheets of our manuscript, and on the corresponding sheets of the other two codices

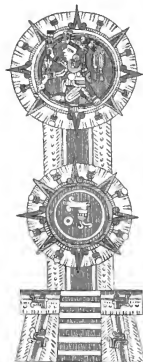


Fig. 12. *Tomalamm*, the Sun God, and his sign or staff, 'one Flower'. Pictorial no. in the Vienna I.R. Court Library, 23.

above and below the columns of day-counts? I have already stated at the outset that only a few of these pictures exhibit the portrait of a particular deity, that most of them seem merely to represent groups of symbols or symbolic figures. It is, moreover, remarkable that some of these symbolic figures or groups of symbols are repeated several times. Thus in our manuscript we see the skeleton dragging along a victim in the upper row of the first sheet (in the fifth place), in the same row of the third sheet (in the third place), of the fifth sheet (in the second place), and of the seventh sheet (in the sixth place). In our manuscript the bird swooping down on the sacrificial dish is to be seen in the



fourth compartment of the upper row of the second sheet, and again in the last compartment of the upper row of the eighth sheet. The bundle of spears occurs in the upper row of the first, fifth, and eighth sheets; the hand grasping a spear in the upper row of the sixth and seventh sheets. And still greater becomes the number of concordances, if we add the pictures of the other two manuscripts. In consequence of these repetitions I was for some time of opinion that we might have here recurrent rows of associated pictures, comparable to the nine Lords of the Night Hours, or to the thirteen Lords of the Day Hours, which we find in the *Tonalamatl* of the Aubin collection and of Codex



Fig. 14. The Stone Knife God (*Itz'itl*), or the Death Sacrifice. Ruler of the fourth *Tonalamatl* quarter, or *zochitl*, of the Region of the South. Codex Bergia 7 (= Kingsborough 32), lowest row.



Fig. 15. The Stone Knife God (*Itz'itl*), or the Death Sacrifice. Ruler of the fourth *Tonalamatl* quarter, or *zochitl*, of the Region of the South. Codex Bergia 7, lowest row.



Fig. 16. The Stone Knife God (*Itz'itl*), or the Death Sacrifice. Ruler of the fourth *Tonalamatl* quarter, or *zochitl*, of the Region of the South. Codex Vaticanus 3772, Sheet 7 (= Kingsborough 35), lowest row.



Fig. 17. The Two Blood Snakes. Codex Bergia 1 (= Kingsborough 26), below.



Fig. 18. The Double-headed Blood Snake. Codex Bergia 1, below.



Fig. 19. The Itinerant Priest. Codex Bergia 1 (= Kingsborough 26), below.



Fig. 20. The Itinerant Priest. Codex Bergia 1, below.

Borbonicus. But all attempts to discover any system in these repetitions proved fruitless. The figures represented in the lower row of the last two sheets are for the most part obviously mere developments or variations of what the initial figure seems to indicate. But the same cannot be inferred, at least on a first survey, from the other rows of the other sheets. On the contrary, at the very first glance one point strikes the eye. The pictures in the three manuscripts correspond, although differences are presented, not only in the drawing, as was natural, but also frequently in the choice and treatment of the symbols, and although, a point I have above already laid stress upon, the pictures of one manuscript often seem displaced when compared with those of the others. In order to omit nothing that might guide us in our interpretations, we must fain submit to a comparative study the details of these forms which are presented by the three manuscripts.

In the first *Tonalamatl* quarter (Sheets 1 and 2) the agreement between the three manuscripts is complete in the lowest row. The initial figure (cf. Figs. 1 and 2 *supra*, p. 7) is followed first of all by a group of two snakes which in Codex Borgia (Fig. 17) stands out from a crossway, in the middle of which is a death's head; but in Codex Bologna (Fig. 18) the group seems, strange to say, to coalesce below, so that here there appears to be represented not two snakes, but one tailless entangled serpentine body ending off in a head on each side.

In the third compartment Codex Borgia shows us (Fig. 19) a wandering figure, painted a red colour with long hair, which falls down behind, and above is decked on the occiput with a jewelled disk, or perhaps is intended to be drawn through a jewelled ring. In his hand the figure holds a wand, near the upper end of which a flower seems to be suggested. And on his back we see a ragged round object painted yellow with an opening above, through which a jewelled thong (*chalcicuilli*) protrudes, while two thongs simply painted red hang down below. In my elucidation of Codex Fejérváry-Mayer<sup>1</sup> I have pointed out that this is the usual way in which Codex Borgia figures the tobacco calabash (*yetecomatl*), which forms the special equipment of the Mexican priests, and in the same place<sup>2</sup> I have given proof that this tobacco calabash is employed in the picture-books as a symbol of abundant food supplies. *Izta Mizcruatl*, the old God of Heaven, the old God of Life, *Omē itzcuintli*, the old god of the Vienna manuscript, who is presumably also a *Tonacateuilli*, a 'Lord of Life,' and *Izcoztuquis*, the Fire God, all wear this calabash, and to one of these deities is doubtless related this wandering figure of our Codex Borgia (Fig. 19). Apparently a variant is the figure which is pictured in the third compartment of the lowest row of Codex Bologna (Fig. 20). It certainly is likewise a wandering person, and is also painted in light colours, while the priest is indicated by the large red patch on the temple, which in Codex Mendoza also the priests have regularly painted on their temples. This was



Fig. 21. *Chantico*, Goddess of Fire and Mortification. Codex Borgia I (= Kingsborough 28), below.



Fig. 22. *Xolotl*, as God of Mortification. Codex Bologna I, below.

the part which the priests smeared with the blood that they drew from themselves by self-inflicted wounds at their penitential exercises. Instead of the wand with the flower the Codex Bologna figure holds two flowers, but disposed lengthwise to look like a staff. The tobacco calabash on his back is missing; instead of it head and neck are completely enveloped in a flowering shrub, which in a sense forms the wig, or, if you like, the helmet mask, the disguise of the figure. As we know that the tobacco calabash of the priests was regarded by the Mexicans as a symbol of abundant food supplies, and is so employed in the picture-books—it is thus found, for instance, in Codex Borgia 51 (= Kingsborough 64), as a token or symbol in the Temple of the West, the house of the maize deity—it will be impossible to deny that, despite their quite different equipment, the same fundamental idea is presented by Figs. 19 and 20. The corresponding figure in our manuscript is more reduced and colourless. In the third compartment of the lower row on Sheet I is seen a temple in which is seated a figure who is painted with a green body and a yellow face. I see a suggestion of the flowering tree that forms the helmet-mask of the Codex Bologna figure in the fact that the hair, or the form that is here drawn in the place of the hair, is painted in diverse colours, red, blue, and yellow, and that something like a flower protrudes at the sides of the face. Indistinct is the object which is further depicted in front of the figure. But it is obviously intended to

<sup>1</sup> Berlin and London, 1901-1907, pp. 129-141.

<sup>2</sup> *ib.*, pp. 174-185.

represent either a staff with a flower, or two flowers juxta-posed like a staff. From the Vatican alone we should scarcely be able to form any notion of this figure. But what still remains of it permits us to recognise that it is conceived in the same manner as that of Codex Bologna (Fig. 20), and this last, like the corresponding figure of Codex Borgia (Fig. 19), we shall have to regard as an image of the Lord of Food Supplies.

More striking differences between the three manuscripts appear to present themselves in the fourth compartment. In Codex Borgia the lowest row has unfortunately been greatly damaged. The thin coating of stucco, which forms the ground of the painting, is in several of the fields almost completely rubbed off. In Kingsborough's time their condition does not seem to have been quite so bad, and his draughtsman had assuredly still more before his eyes. And this is why even to-day Kingsborough's reproductions still possess a certain value. In the fourth compartment Kingsborough's draughtsman has drawn a female figure, and what still remains of the form (cf. Fig. 21) enables us to recognise that on the whole he has reproduced it correctly. The figure is clothed in a red-fringed tippet (*querquemitl*) and a red enagua, and wears her hair exactly like the male wandering person of the third compartment. But in the hair of our figure are further stuck an agave-leaf spiko, from which the blood trickles down (*suitlil coztl*), and a bone dagger (*omiltl*), which, if the reproduction in Kingsborough is correct, is broken in two pieces. In Codex Fejérváry-Mayer a bone broken in two pieces is figured with the old God of Heaven, *Istae Mixcouatl*, and there he seems intended to indicate the *Priests of the Olden Times*.<sup>1</sup> And in Codex Borgia 65 (= Kingsborough 50) we see it in the hand of *Xolotl*, ruler of the sixteenth week of the *Tonalamatl*. Lastly, before the person at Fig. 21 is pictured a disk with a rubber ball, that is, a burnt-offering. Various opinions may be held regarding the meaning of this figure. The red robe and the burnt-offering point to *Chantico*, the goddess of *Xochimilco*, the Goddess of Fire.

But what Codex Borgia here shows us differs from the male figure which we see depicted in the fourth compartment of Codex Bologna. This is a figure of familiar type, with the drawing of the white hand on his mouth, the complete characteristic facial painting of the gods of the *Mocuil xochitl* series, and in fact a god with a black-coloured body, just as are pictured the *Mocuil cuetzpalin* of Sheet 47 (= Kingsborough 68) in Codex Borgia, and the *Xolotl*, ruler of the sixteenth day-count of Sheet 10 (= Kingsborough 29) in Codex Borgia. Here he holds in one hand a stone knife (*tecpatl*), in the other a pointed object painted green, and at the thick end surmounted by a flower, hence is doubtless meant to represent a blood-stained agave-leaf spike (*suitlil coztl*), and, like the chief figure of the series, is depicted above a water-vessel, which here also presumably indicates the tank where the penitent goes to bathe.

In our manuscript also a male figure is drawn in the fourth compartment of the lowest row. The body is painted black, face and neck yellow, while a sharply bordered white field about the mouth recalls the facial painting of the Codex Bologna figure (Fig. 22), although one hand in the drawing cannot be made out. Instead of hair this personage seems to wear a crown of white or black feathers, in which are again perhaps stuck the bone dagger and agave-leaf spiko. The figure is represented in a kneeling attitude, and holds in his hand a rattle stick (*chicouacatl*), such as is carried on the one hand by the god *Xipe*, on the other by the earth, maize, and water deities. It is to some extent difficult to state positively what sort of connecting thought may exist between these two male figures and the female figure of Codex Borgia. But one feels compelled to assume some kind of relation, since both in the foregoing and in the following representations an agreement exists between the three manuscripts.

The next two compartments in Codex Borgia are almost completely obliterated, and seem to have already been so in Kingsborough's time. Nevertheless in the fifth compartment (cf. Fig. 23) we still distinctly recognise a male figure, which is depicted with uplifted hands and head bent backwards, shows on the temple an enclosed spot such as the priests wear, and has flame-coloured hair, with upturned frontal locks, while maize bloom and maize ears project from crown and elbow.

<sup>1</sup> See my elucidation of Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, Berlin and London, 1901-1902, pp. 161, 164.

In the corresponding part of Codex Bologna a figure is similarly pictured with head inclined backwards and upraised arm, and flowers projecting forward over the head (Fig. 24). The left hand holds a stone knife, down from which flows a fluid ending in flowers, indicating blood, and the whole figure stands out from a stream of water which runs diagonally across the compartment. In the fifth compartment our manuscript likewise shows a figure with head bent backwards and uplifted arms; but on the head are seen neither maize ears nor flowers, nor even hair, while the uplifted arms seem to support the sky. It is however also possible, perhaps probable, that the arms are merely meant to be raised skyward.

In Codex Borgia only a few coloured patches are preserved in the sixth compartment (cf. Fig. 25). But we may conjecture that here also, as in Codex Bologna (cf. Fig. 26), and in the sixth compartment of the lower row in our manuscript, a figure is represented in the act of cutting open his own breast, or else his throat, with a stone knife, like the person pictured at the beginning of the fourth *Tonalamatl* quarter in the lower row (cf. Figs. 14 and 15 *supra*, p. 13).

In the seventh division we come upon the *burning temple*, a representation which will repeatedly recur further on. In Codex Borgia this is clearly indicated by the collapsing straw roof, by the flames



Fig. 23 *opposed*, the rising  
Maize Plant, the Vigilant.  
Codex Borgia I  
(= Kingsborough 38),  
below.



Fig. 24 *opposed*, the  
Vigilant.  
Codex Bologna I,  
below.



Fig. 25 *frontal*, the  
Human Sacrifice.  
Codex Borgia I  
(= Kingsborough 38),  
below.



Fig. 26 *frontal*, the  
Human Sacrifice.  
Codex Bologna I,  
below.

flaring up from the roof and walls, and further by a bundle of firewood in front. Besides, in the temple, as in the corresponding places elsewhere, is pictured a seated human figure painted a light-yellow colour.

In Codex Bologna (Fig. 28) the collapsing temple roof is also distinct; but it is remarkable that here the *fire* is likewise represented by a *deer-headed* form which seems, as it were, to lift the roof up, while at the foot of the temple the flames appear to be indicated by another animal head, which might be intended for a dog or a coyote, and is outstretched in a similar way. In the corresponding compartment of our manuscript the same scene, the burning temple, was evidently meant to be represented. But it would be difficult to conjecture so much with the Vatican alone before one's eyes.

The eighth compartment deals with sacrificial offerings. Here Codex Borgia (Fig. 29) and Codex Bologna (Fig. 30) are in the fullest accord. We see a vessel with a human arm, doubtless taken from the victim's body; beside it a dish (*chalehuizcotli*) painted in the colours of a jewel, and flowers above, which we may with equal confidence explain as sacrificial blood. We further see a vessel with a rubber ball, hence a burnt-offering, although in Codex Bologna only a polished rubber ball is shown. Lastly, a round-bottomed vessel, from which flows a brown substance bearing a flower on its surface, suggestive perhaps of pulque. But possibly also sweet-smelling resin, incense-offering, might be surmised, and this view is supported by the subsequent scenes. Somewhat different is the picture in the eighth compartment

of our manuscript; but here also we have the same fundamental notion. A vessel is pictured containing a rubber ball, bone dagger, and agave-leaf spike; above is the image of the sun, to which the offerings are brought.

In the ninth compartment a mountain cave, from which water flows, is symbolised in Codex Borgia (Fig. 31) and in our manuscript by a monster's throat, in Codex Bologna (Fig. 32) in a more interesting way by the figure of *Tepeyolloti*, God of Caves. Offerings—rubber ball (*otli*), bone dagger (*omilli*), agave-leaf spike (*nitzli*), the two last indicated by the image of a flower as dripping with blood, the blood of



Fig. 27. *tecuinātlitli*,  
Fire Stoking.  
Codex Borgia 2  
(= Kingsborough 27),  
below.



Fig. 28. *tecuinātlitli*,  
Fire Stoking.  
Codex Bologna, 1, 2,  
below.



Fig. 29. *Hemanalli*,  
Offerings.  
Codex Borgia 2  
(= Kingsborough 27),  
below.



Fig. 30. *Hemanalli*,  
Offerings.  
Codex Bologna 2,  
below.



Fig. 31. *otolli*,  
the Mountain Cave.  
Codex Borgia 2  
(= Kingsborough 27),  
below.



Fig. 32. *Tepeyolloti*,  
God of the Mountain Cave.  
Codex Bologna 2, below.



Fig. 33. *nequalli*, Fasting.  
Codex Borgia 2  
(= Kingsborough 27),  
below.



Fig. 34. *nequalli*, Fasting.  
Codex Bologna 2,  
below.

mortification—are shown in the Codex Borgia picture (Fig. 31) above the cave, while in the Codex Bologna picture (Fig. 32) the God *Tepeyolloti* holds the blood-stained bone dagger and the agave-leaf spike in his hand.

This is followed, in the tenth compartment, by the image of fasting (*nequalli*), indicated in the usual way by the string pleated with green and white red-dotted strands, this string representing the enclosure within which the fasting person has retired. In all three manuscripts this string is clearly pictured in a like manner. Within the enclosure are shown the offerings—in Codex Borgia (Fig. 33) and in our manuscript a jewelled dish and a round-bottomed vessel from which some substance foams up; in Codex Bologna (Fig. 34) only a vessel of the same kind is shown, with something over its mouth, the nature of which I am unable to unriddle.

In the eleventh compartment we see in all three manuscripts a naked figure, and a snake turning its head towards the figure by whom it is grasped. In Codex Borgia (Fig. 35) the snake coils upwards from between the legs of this naked person, while in Codex Bologna (Fig. 36) it stands free before him. In the Codex Bologna figure the head-dress is remarkable, consisting of the sign *cuiltatl* (ordure, dirt, sin) and a flower. Here the relation is clear as day both to *Tloquecetzl*, the old Earth Goddess and representative of womanhood, who in the picture-books is also depicted naked by preference, and to her attendants, the *Cinatetes*. To the priests of this goddess adulterers went to confess in order to be freed from the sin and punishment incurred by the adultery, and on the sinner the priests imposed as a penance to go by night naked to the shrines of the *Cinatetes* at the crossways, and there deposit paper garments and offerings. That the picture in Codex Borgia and Codex Bologna is also to be understood in this way we have a positive proof in Codex Borbonicus. Here is seen on Sheet 17 the *Chalchihualtlotin*, the turkey-cock image of *Tezcatlipoca*, who represents the *chalchihualt*, the precious water of mortification, he being the ruler of the *Tonalamatt* quarter that begins with *ce atl*, 'one Water.' Right before him stands the penitent (Fig. 36a), who has the copal pouch hanging at his arm, is drawing blood from his ear with the sharp bone, and in his left hand holds the sign *cuiltatl*, 'ordure, dirt, filth,' that is, 'sin.' And he, too, is riding on a snake, exactly as we have seen with the picture in Codex Borgia (Fig. 35).

In the next following twelfth field Codex Borgia (Fig. 37) shows a woman who is clothed only in the blue-coloured enagua, the upper part of her body being exposed, her hair rising in two locks above her forehead, and she herself indicated by a wreath in her hair. She is represented in a sitting posture, and holds in her hand a kind of short rod which is wrapped in flowers, or else consists of flowers, and ends off above and below in jewelled bands. Below her is further seen a vessel. In Codex Bologna too (Fig. 38) a woman is indicated, who shows as a special face-painting a red disk on her cheek, wears a red smock (*nipilli*), and has her hair also surmounted by a wreath of flowers. But in her hand she holds nothing but the implements of mortification, bone dagger and agave-leaf spike. A vessel seems likewise to be pictured below her.

In our manuscript the face of the figure in the twelfth compartment is partly damaged by abrasion. But the garland, which here also projects forward over the crown of the head, places it beyond doubt that the same figure was intended to be represented as in the corresponding places in the other manuscripts. One of her hands is raised up before her face, while in the other she holds a coloured object, which doubtless corresponds with the flowering staff of the Codex Borgia figure (Fig. 37). A vessel is not shown below the figure in our manuscript, but instead of it we have an animal which is painted a blue colour, and at first sight might be taken for a lizard. But to this is opposed the beak-like mouth, from which one might perhaps infer that a turtle is intended. In Codex Laud 9 (Kingsborough's notation) a turtle is seen figured below *Miquetzl*, the Goddess of the Agave Plant, which yields the intoxicating pulque. Hence it may be asked whether here also a pulque goddess is depicted? So much may almost be conjectured, since in the upper row of the second *Tonalamatt* quarter we shall meet quite a similarly garbed and decked female figure who, with her right hand, is applying to her mouth a goblet from which a brown liquor foams up stuck with flowers. But, as we shall see, it is altogether doubtful whether by the brown fluid of Fig. 127 a liquor is really meant, and not rather a sweet-swelling resinous substance. Judging from the analogy noticeable between Fig. 127 and certain male persons pictured in the same row, it seems a necessary inference that Fig. 127 is rather intended for an image of the goddess *Xochiquetztl*, and we shall doubtless have also to draw the same inference for this figure of the twelfth lower compartment, Figs. 37, 38.

In the last division of the lower row of the first *Tonalamatt* quarter the Codex Borgia figure (Fig. 39) is the most distinct. On a mountain set with paper flags we see the red arara, which from the form and colour of its tail can be identified with some certainty. Here in its beak it holds a human forearm (the arm of a corpse). A bird with red plumage and a paper flag may also at a pinch be made out in the

corresponding compartment of Codex Bologna (Fig. 40). In the lower right corner Kingsborough's draughtsman has further introduced a *cipactli's* head, which perhaps answers to the mountain of the Codex Borgin picture. In the corresponding part of our manuscript, the last compartment of the lower row of Sheet 2, we may likewise at a pinch detect a bird with parrot's head holding something in its beak. But a closer explanation is impossible.

Now if we take a summary survey of all the pictures which in the first *Tonalamatl* quarter occupy the compartments of the lower cross row, what seemed obscure on the first cursory inquiry seems now to stand out clearly, that these pictures appear to be really intended to give full and complete expression to the nature of the deity who is figured at the beginning of this *Tonalamatl* quarter, that is, the god



Fig. 35. The Penitent Adulterer.  
Codex Borgin 2  
(= Kingsborough 37), below.



Fig. 36. The Penitent Adulterer.  
Codex Bologna 2, below.



Fig. 36a. The Penitent Adulterer  
(before the *ak'oh'wah'totolis*).  
Codex Borlousanus 17.



Fig. 37. *Xochiquetzal*.  
Codex Borgin 2  
(= Kingsborough 37),  
below.



Fig. 38. *Xochiquetzal*.  
Codex Bologna 2,  
below.



Fig. 39. aln, the red  
*Guacuansya*.  
Codex Borgin 2  
(= Kingsborough 37), below.



Fig. 40. aln, the red  
*Guacuansya*.  
Codex Bologna 2,  
below.

*Quetzalcoatl*. Elsewhere also in the manuscripts we see the snake of the second compartment associated with the god *Quetzalcoatl*; for instance in Codex Borgin 9 (= Kingsborough 30), and in the corresponding places of the other picture-writings. Farther on I shall have to point out with the ruler of the second day-count that this serpent which is painted and designed like a coral-snake, and which I formerly generally designated as a 'dragon,' appears everywhere in the picture-books to symbolise 'blood,' and is there placed with *Quetzalcoatl*, ruler of the second day-count, because this god was the inventor of mortification, of blood-letting in honour of the gods. The third compartment further shows us the god as the *wandering priest*, the priest of the olden time, the Lord of Life. The fourth compartment gives us the Penitent, now with the bone dagger (or stone knife) and agave-leaf spike kneeling at the water, now as priest of the Rain God, stamping the rattle-board *chicousaztli* on the ground. And if in Codex Borgin a woman is pictured in this place, this woman is *Chantico* herself, the Goddess of Fire, who symbolises the pain of the penitential exercises. And if in Codex Bologna the Penitent appears in the garb and painting of the gods of the

*Macuilzochitl* series, we have to remember that these gods, as shall be more fully discussed in another part of these commentaries, are the representatives of the region of the South, that is of the *uitznanac*, the 'Place of Thorns.' The figure in the fifth compartment drawn with head inclined backwards and uplifted arms is perhaps to be conceived as a person praying. Do we not read of *Quetzalcoatl* that<sup>1</sup>

<i>ca ihuicatl ystie</i>	'Within the heaven
<i>yn tlallauhxiayn, yn moteotiyay</i>	he prayed,
<i>auh yn quinoztaya</i>	he called ou
<i>Citlal'in yeue Citlallatonuc</i>	the Goddess of the Starry Robe,
	the Stellar Sun,
	the Lady and the Lord of Life,
	who are clothed in charcoal, in blood,
<i>Tonacacihuatl Tonacateuilli</i>	
<i>tecolloquenzi yestlaquenzi</i>	
<i>tlallanauc<sup>2</sup>) tlallihcattl</i>	
<i>auh ompa ontzatzia . . .</i>	and he shouted
<i>Omeyocan</i>	to the place of the twofold,
<i>chiuenauhnepanihuan icpae<sup>3</sup>)</i>	to him above the nine times enchained
<i>mani yn ihuicatl</i>	resting sky,
<i>auh . . . yehuantin ompa chaneque</i>	and to those who there have their home,
<i>yn quinoztaya, in quitlatlauhxiaya</i>	them he called upon, then he prayed to
<i>hucl nomattinencu, tlavcoatinencu</i>	in humility and sorrow.'

If, however, the picture be explained in this way, it is singular that the figure in Codex Borgia (see Fig. 23 *supra*, p. 16) is designed with maize ears and maize bloom growing out of its head and its arms. Hence I should feel inclined to offer another explanation which to many will seem daring, but still perhaps takes best account of the line of thought of those ancient priests. The picture at Fig. 23 I cannot but explain simply as the maize plant become man, and in fact as the sprouting maize plant. But for the Mexicans the sprouting maize plant was the symbol of the awakening of vegetation (to new life).—*Chicomolotzin zayumeva zimipotiu*, 'O Goddess of the Maize Plant, sprout, awaken,'—was sung at the two feasts kept in honour of the young Maize Goddess. Hence these two feasts were called *tozontotli* and *Uei topostli*, 'the little and the great awakening.' It seems to me not impossible that the remarkable picture at Fig. 23, and the corresponding ones of the other two manuscripts, are intended to denote the god who rises at night, who wakes at night. Then it might be possible to explain in a still more satisfactory way the picture of the sky which in our manuscript occurs with the figure in question, and might quite as well be an image of night.

The sixth compartment naturally shows us the *sacrificing priest*, the *innovator*; the seventh the *kindler of fire*; eighth, the *gift-bearer*; the ninth, the priest who deposits offerings in the mountain caves. In the records a special function of the priests is always stated to be a pilgrimage to the various places of worship situated in caves on the mountains. In the tenth compartment the fasting person is represented; in the eleventh the priest who resorts to the *ciuatexuilli*, the shrines of the Earth Goddess and of the *Ciuatelet* set up by the crossways. Lastly, the two last compartments show us, I think, the craftsman, the *towler*, the *Toller*,—the *Ah toltecat*, as the god *Tepeu K'ucumatz*, that is, *Quetzalcoatl*, is once called in a passage of the saga books of the Quichés. For the goddess *Xochiquetzal* figured in the twelfth compartment may be properly described as patroness of the industries. In the last two compartments of the lower row of this first *Tonalamotl* quarter I also see represented jewels and ornamental feathers, the two costly things which with cacao were brought by

<sup>1</sup> *Anales de Quetziltlan.*

<sup>2</sup> Corrected for *tlallanauc*.

<sup>3</sup> " " *icac.*



the traders from the lands of the *Tierra caliente* (hot lands). But of the god *Quetzalcouatl* himself we read in the *Anales de Quauhtlan* immediately after the just quoted passage:—

*auh ixpā imation yeguesē*  
*yekouatl quineati yn kusy necuiltonotiztli*  
*yn chalcchihualt yn teociuhlli*  
  
*auh yn teocuitlatl yn coctic yn ictac*  
*yn tapachlli teccitli*  
*yn quetzali, yn ziuhlototl, yn tlauhquechol*  
  
*yn caqvan, yn frinitzoun, yn ayoguan*  
*auh ihuan quineati*  
  
*in tlaxpaleskhuatl*  
*yn tlaxpaleschicatl*

'and first in his time  
 he found out (brought hither)  
 the great riches,  
 the green jewel, the real  
 turquoise  
 and the gold and the silver,  
 the red and the white shells,  
 the quetzal feathers, the cotings  
 and red spoonbill feathers,  
 (and the other ornamental feathers)  
 and at the same time he found out  
 (brought hither)  
 the various species of cacao,  
 the various species of cotton.'

Having thus arrived at a satisfactory explanation of the pictures in the lower row of the first *Tonalamatl* quarter, I pass on to those of the upper row. It is natural now to suppose that here too those pictures will yield nothing but more detailed expositions of what was considered as belonging to the nature of the deity of this quarter. But, without taking into account this probable explanation, I will in the first place consider the pictures in themselves by comparing those of the various manuscripts with each other.

We see at once that here in the upper row the arrangement of the pictures in our manuscript and in Codex Bologna seems disturbed in several places, when compared with that of Codex Borgia. This is conspicuous in the very first two compartments. In the first compartment Codex Borgia (Fig. 41) pictures a temple in the usual style, with high-pitched straw



Fig. 41. The Penitent, symbol of *Quetzalcouatl*. Codex Borgia I (= Kingsborough 38), above.



Fig. 42. The Penitent, symbol of *Quetzalcouatl*. Codex Bologna I, above.

roof, and within it a man seated and painted brown, the ordinary colour of the human skin, that is, of the men. In his hand he holds the implements of mortification, the bone dagger (*omiltl*) and the agave-leaf spike (*uitztl*), and if Kingsborough's draughtsman has correctly observed, he had his hair set with eyes; I doubt, however, as to the correct reproduction in Kingsborough, for in the facsimile I can discover no trace of such eyes. Obviously the Penitent is meant to be again represented, he being the image of *Quetzalcouatl*, who was regarded as the inventor of these penitential exercises. Corresponding with this we have in Codex Bologna (Fig. 42), in the first compartment of the uppermost row, a figure represented as seated on a carved wooden seat, and painted red, the colour in which the men are painted in this division of Codex Bologna. The temple is only indicated by a small picture of such a building, which is introduced in a strange way in a cross horizontal position above the figure. The mortification also is merely suggested by a hieroglyph behind the figure, which in its upper part probably represents a green jewel (*chalchihuitl*), and in its lower distinctly shows a stream of water (*atl*), hence indicates the *chalchihuitl*, 'Jewel water,' that is, the blood of mortification. Cf. Fig. 43 from Codex Borgia 10 (= Kingsborough 29).

In our manuscript, Codex Vaticanus, it looks as if a corresponding picture were entirely missing. Here we have in the first place, in the first compartment, a very small picture which is unquestionably to be placed beside the one that in Codex Borgia and in Codex Bologna is figured in the second compartment. And there next follows a figure which I have again reproduced here at Fig. 44. It is enveloped in a long blue robe and seated on a cushion covered with a jaguar skin, but I am positively unable to say whether it is intended to represent a man or a woman. Around its neck is thrown a cord, and by means of this a large flower with two projecting jewelled hands seems to be fastened in an upright position to the nape.

In the second compartment of Codex Borgia (Fig. 45) we meet the representation of a *quetzal* bird swooping down from above on the offerings presented in the temple, and this picture is repeated in a similar way in this row as well as in each of the other *Tonalamall* quarters, always in the upper row. The temple has the usual form. The offerings are here, and likewise in the other parts of Codex Borgia, symbolised by a jewelled dish (*chalchikualli*), above which are pictured two flowers, an emblem of the *sacrificial blood* contained in the dish. As already stated, the bird is clearly drawn as *quetzaltototl*, with green plumage, feather tuft, and long waving tail-feathers. But one is still tempted with its representation to recall the *quetzalcualli*, the *sacrificial-blood dish* of the Mexicans, and the conjectured meaning of the word as the *dish from which the Eagle, that is the Sun, drinks*. The picture which we see in the second compartment of Codex Bologna (Fig. 46) is perfectly analogous. Only the descent of the bird from above is not quite so clearly expressed. As already above stated, in our manuscript, the Vatican Codex, the corresponding picture is found in the first compartment of the upper row. This representation also shows some discrepancy. For the bird does not here come down from above on the wing, but stands in the temple holding the flower, that is, the *sacrificial blood*, in its claw.

In the third compartment of the upper row we see in Codex Borgia Fig. 47, in Codex Bologna Fig. 48. The Codex Borgia picture—a house split by a spear and in flames—we might not perhaps be able to explain with certainty if it stood alone. But the parallel representation of Codex Bologna (Fig. 48), which shows us the Rain and Thunder God, *Ihaloc* descending from on high and in both hands holding the lightning snake, leaves no doubt at all that Fig. 47 is intended to represent a house struck by lightning. Moreover, this is a scene which in somewhat modified form recurs once again in this row in Codex Borgia, as well as in each of the other *Tonalamall* quarters; and indeed in the upper row too. It may seem doubtful whether the picture shown in our manuscript in the third compartment of the upper row is to be brought into relation with that of the other two manuscripts. Here is seen a figure wrapt in a long yellow robe and seated cross-armed in a carved wooden seat. Above it an arm is visible, and thick volumes of smoke are shown before the face or the mouth.

In the fourth compartment also a direct agreement is presented only by Codex Borgia and Codex Bologna. In the Codex Borgia the fourth compartment of the upper row has been for the most part damaged by the hearth-fire to which this precious manuscript was once exposed by the idle hands of children at play.<sup>1</sup> But in what still remains of the compartment we can clearly recognise (cf. Fig. 49, p. 24) a standing or striding female figure clothed with enagua and upil, and with her hair ornamented at the back with a disk, or a ring, from which hangs a jewelled thong, all as with the wandering priest of Fig. 19 and the goddess of Fig. 21, enveloped in a red robe. Both the smock and the enagua of this goddess figured in the fourth compartment of Codex Borgia show the white disks (eyes) on a black ground, a style of painting which the Mexicans usually designated as *xicitlatl*,

<sup>1</sup> 'Le manuscrit de Valenciennes paraît avoir appartenu à la famille Giustiniani: on ignore par quel malheur ou hasard il étoit tombé entre les mains des domestiques de cette maison, qui, ignorant le prix que pouvoit avoir un recueil de figures monastiques, l'abandonnèrent à leurs enfans. C'est à ces derniers que l'arracha un amateur éclairé des antiquités, le cardinal Borja, lorsqu'on avoit déjà tenté de brûler quelques pages au profit de cet art laquelle les peintures sont tracées.'

Humboldt, *Vues des Cordillères et monumens des peuples indigènes de l'Amérique*, p. 88.

star-painting. Hence we should perhaps recognise this goddess as *Cittalin icue*, 'she of the starry enagua.' Codex Bologna also (Fig. 50) pictures a striding female figure clothed in smock and enagua, which, however, here are blue. In her hand the goddess holds something which is doubtless intended to represent a *chalchicuoyetlatl*, a necklace composed of jewels set with golden bells. Above the goddess are pictured a feather ornament on the left, and on the right two footprints.

This picture has, I think, its explanation in the remarkable representation of Codex Borbonicus which has already been correctly interpreted by *Del Paso y Troncoso*. This is the Fig. 51 which shows us the Earth Goddess *Teteo inann* or *Thalcolteotl* as Parturient, and to whom we see the



Fig. 53. *neritlatl*, 'the Mortification'  
and *chalchouatl*, 'the Precious Water (of Mortification)'.  
Codex Bologna 10 (= Kingsborough 25).



Fig. 54.  
Codex Vaticanus 3773. 1  
(= Kingsborough 49), above.



Fig. 45.  
The Sun Bird descending on the sacrificial-blood dish.  
Codex Borja 1  
(= Kingsborough 36), above.



Fig. 46.  
Codex Borja 1,  
above.



Fig. 47. Lightning.  
Codex Borja 1  
(= Kingsborough 36),  
above.



Fig. 48. The Thunder God  
descending, Lightning.  
Codex Borja 1,  
above.

child descending from above which she is to bear, that is, descending from the thirteenth heaven, where dwell the Gods of Life, of Generation, *Ometecuilli Omecuatl*, the descent being indicated by the footprints coming from above downwards. In like manner, I believe, have to be explained as a descent from on high the footsteps shown in Fig. 50 above, only here we have not simply the descent of a child, but of the jewel (*chalchihuitl*), in fact of the very jewel or jewelled adornment which the goddess holds in her hand, and of the quetzal feather, or quetzal-feather adornment, which we see pictured above beside the footprints. *Nopiltze noezque, noquetzale, oticyd, otitlaot otimotlatlitiacpaquistico in y thaltitpac in totevya omizyocuz omiztipic omiztlaotitli in ypaknemomani in Dia*, 'My son, my (jewelled) necklace, my quetzal feather, thou art born, to the earth, to this earth, has our Lord brought thee, created thee has the God by whose grace we live'—so begins the admonition of the father to his son which has been preserved in various manuscripts, and amongst others in the Grammar

of P. Ohnos. Hence the necklace and the quetzal feather ornament shown in Fig. 50 stand simply for the child which the woman conceives, as the scene is intended to show.

In this place our manuscript, the Vatican, again deviates greatly from the two other manuscripts, for it contains in the fourth compartment of the upper row a bundle of spears, the symbol of war. May we surmise that the two other codices were intended to symbolise the birth of the warrior, or

of war, but our manuscript war itself? According to the Mexican way of thinking, war should have been first created before the sun could be born, since to nourish the sun they needed the blood and the hearts of the captured, which could be obtained only by war.

The fifth compartment of the upper row has in Codex Borgia been entirely destroyed by the fire. Codex Bologna shows at Fig. 52 a skeleton brandishing a spear in one hand, and in the other grasping by the top-knot a severed head drawn like a skull. To this corresponds the representation in our manuscript, which in the fifth compartment of the upper row likewise shows a skeleton holding a captive by the hair, drawn, however, in full figure.

In the sixth compartment a scene has been introduced in our manuscript (Fig. 53) which is missing in the two other related documents. A quetzal bird is doubtless again intended to be represented, but with plumage painted yellow, and seated on a notched vessel, while in its beak holding something indistinct, perhaps a wing. Behind, or above it, are pictured two bone daggers and a flower, hence emblems of mortification and of the sacrificial blood. The whole representation is evidently a variant of the bird descending on the sacrificial blood (Figs. 45, 46), and looks like something inserted just to fill in some vacant space.

From the next division forward all three picture-writings again harmonise with each other. As a first scene we have in Codex Borgia, in the sixth compartment of the upper row, the picture at Fig. 54. On the carved and painted wooden chair (*teotepalli*) inlaid with jewels is seated a male figure painted a light-yellow colour. His hair, as Kingsborough's draughtsman could still make out, was decked with a wreath of flowers, and, as may just

be still noticed in the damaged picture of the facsimile, under the lip is seen that remarkable ring-shaped appendage, to which in the Codex Borgia drawing the contracted corner of the toothless mouth of old gods and goddesses has been transformed. Hence the picture shows us the figure of the old God of Heaven, *Tonacateculli*, lord of our flesh, lord of fool supplies, lord of generation and of life, who is enthroned in the uppermost thirteenth heaven, the *Omeoocan*, and thence sends



Fig. 49. O'Malin'era.  
Codex Borgia I  
(= Kingsborough 38),  
above.



Fig. 50.  
The Conception of a Child.  
Codex Bologna I,  
above.



Fig. 54. Tetzimcan or Thapateotl, Ruler of the  
Thirteenth Week ce olin, 'one Motion.'  
Codex Bertonianus 12.

children into the world; who is the supreme source of all being and of all life, the primeval Croster and Father of Gods and Men. Corresponding to him, in the sixth compartment of Codex Bologna (Fig. 55), is seen a red-painted figure seated in the carved wooden seat, and similarly decked with a wreath of flowers in his hair. Here he holds a stone sacrificial knife (*tecpatl*) in his hand, and above him is shown the sacrificial cord (*astamentl*), with which the captives destined for the sacrifice were bound to the round stone. These representations of human sacrifice need cause us no wonder. They are depicted in the manuscripts pretty well with all the deities, and may also be seen with *Tonacatecutli* in other parts of the manuscripts, for instance, in Codex Borgia 61 (=Kingsborough 54). Possibly



Fig. 52. Ixnamt, who has made a capture. Codex Bologna 1, above.



Fig. 53. The Deistent as the Offerings. Codex Vaticanus 3773 1 (=Kingsborough 49), above.



Fig. 54. Tonacatecutli, Lord of Life. Codex Borgia 1 (=Kingsborough 36), above.



Fig. 55. Tonacatecutli, Lord of Life. Codex Bologna 1, above.



Fig. 56. Miclilanacutli, the Death God. Codex Borgia 2 (=Kingsborough 37), above.



Fig. 57. Tzotemac, the Death God. Codex Bologna 1, 2, above.



Fig. 58. ecelotl, the Scorpion. Codex Borgia 2 (=Kingsborough 37), above.



Fig. 59. ecelotl, the Scorpion. Codex Bologna 2, above.

here in Codex Bologna the artist had more especially in his mind that this god represents heaven and that heaven is the place whither go the souls of the victims.

In our manuscript, owing to the insertion of the picture at Fig. 53, the corresponding figure has moved on to the seventh field. Here is again seen the figure painted a light-yellow colour, and seated cross-armed on the carved wooden bench furnished with a jaguar-skin cushion. By means of a large knotted band to the top of the head is attached an ornament that can no longer be clearly distinguished, perhaps a flower. Kingsborough's draughtsman made it pointed, which, however, is certainly wrong. Beside it is pictured a vessel from which a jewelled band projects.

The picture shown in the seventh compartment of the upper row in Codex Borgia (Fig. 56) recalls that of the third compartment of the same manuscript (Fig. 47). Here, too, is seen a rent house from which flames blaze up. But here follows no thrust from above with a weapon; but a stone knife is set up in the middle of the sundered walls. A yellow stream, which, as elsewhere in Codex Borgia, must

denote 'ordure, dirt, sin,' gushes up beside the knife into the mouth of a skeleton which is either gliding down or ascending with the stream. The corresponding picture in Codex Bologna (Fig. 57) likewise recalls the one figured in the third compartment of this manuscript (Fig. 48). But here it is not *Tlaloc*, the Rain and Thunder God, who descends from above, but a skeleton equipped with the insignia of the Death God, *Mictlantecuhli*. In our manuscript also, but, owing to the incidental displacement, in the eighth compartment, a skeleton is pictured apparently disgorging a large stone knife which falls down into a stream of water.



Fig. 60. The Sun Bird drinking from the sacrificial-blood dish.  
Codex Borgia 2  
(= Kingsborough 37), above.



Fig. 61. The Descent to the Offering.  
Codex Borgia,  
above.



Fig. 62. *Tzotzotl*, who has captured a prisoner.  
Codex Borgia 2,  
above.



Fig. 63. The Sacrificing Priest.  
Codex Borgia 2  
(= Kingsborough 37), above.



Fig. 64. The Sacrificing Priest.  
Codex Borgia 2,  
above.



Fig. 65. *Tzotzotl*, the Sun.  
Codex Borgia 2  
(= Kingsborough 37),  
above.



Fig. 66. *Tzotzotl*, the Sun.  
Codex Borgia 2,  
above.

Our next picture is a scorpion (*colotl*), which descends from above, and in all three manuscripts is designed in a similar way. In Codex Borgia (Fig. 58) it occurs in the immediately following eighth compartment. In Codex Bologna (Fig. 59) an interchange has taken place with the picture which in Codex Borgia and in Vatican follows next after the scorpion; hence in those two manuscripts it is shifted to the ninth field. Similarly in our manuscript, owing to the intrusion of Fig. 53, the scorpion is shown in the ninth field.

For its next picture Codex Borgia has again the quetzal bird (Fig. 60) swooping down to the sacrificial-blood dish, treated quite analogously to that of the second compartment (Fig. 45). In our manuscript also the scorpion is followed by the quetzal bird which descends to the sacrificial-blood dish, and is here designed as in Codex Borgia. But in Codex Bologna, as I have already stated, the quetzal bird (Fig. 61) has changed places with the scorpion, and comes before it in the eighth compartment.

In the tenth place a picture is inserted in Codex Bologna, as in our manuscript, in the sixth compartment, which picture is missing in the two other manuscripts. It is that of Fig. 62, hence once more a skeleton, which has seized the head of a captured prisoner by the hair, and shows itself to be an intrusion by the mere fact that it is a simple repetition of the scene figured in the fifth compartment of this manuscript. Hence from this compartment forward both the representations of Codex Bologna and those of the Vatican appear to be shifted by one field when compared with those of Codex Borgia.

In Codex Borgia the quetzal bird descending on the sacrificial-blood dish is followed in the tenth compartment of the upper row by Fig. 63. As in the sixth compartment (Fig. 54), we see a person painted a light-yellow colour, decked with a wreath of flowers in his hair, and seated on the carved wooden seat inlaid with precious stones. But we miss the remarkable ring-shaped appendage under the lip, for it is not an old but a youthful god that is here represented. Another peculiarity is the large sacrificial knife (*tecpatl*) which he holds in his hand. Below him are depicted offerings, an animal's foot and presumably sacrificial blood in jewelled dishes (*chachiuakzicalli*). In Codex Bologna the corresponding figure occupies the eleventh field (Fig. 64). On the carved seat is seen a figure painted a light (here red) colour with a wreath of flowers in his hair, and likewise holding a sacrificial knife (*tecpatl*) in his right hand. But in his upraised left he further holds a dish on which the flower symbolises the sacrificial blood. The picture shown in the corresponding eleventh compartment of the upper row in our manuscript differs in what it exhibits to the observer, but in its fundamental conception resembles the two first described. Here is no god holding the sacrificial knife, nothing but a temple, but in it again the jewelled dish with a flower, which is here also to be taken as emblematic of the sacrificial blood.

In the eleventh compartment Codex Borgia shows the picture of Fig. 65—a mountain on which lies an axe sharp edge upwards, and above it the sun, from which a stream of blood flows down and along the haft of the axe, and bears in the middle a reeking human heart pierced by a dart. The axe with its upturned cutting side recalls the Mixtec saga of the copper axe on the Mountain of Apocala, on whose edge the sky rests.<sup>1</sup> The blood and the heart are here shown, because to the sun were brought the blood and the hearts of the victims, because it was nourished with these offerings. The corresponding picture of Codex Bologna (Fig. 66), which occurs in the twelfth compartment, contains the same elements, only the axe is missing.

In our manuscript an interchange has taken place between this and the following picture; hence the scene corresponding to Figs. 65 and 66 is not met till we come to the thirteenth, the last field. It contains substantially the same constituents, a mountain below, above the sun, from which a stream of blood runs



Fig. 67. Xipe Totec, Our Lord the Flayed.  
Codex Borgia 2 (= Kingsborough 37), above.



Fig. 68. Xipe Totec.  
Codex Vaticanus 3732  
(= Kingsborough 36),  
above.



Fig. 69. Xipe Totec.  
Codex Bologna 2,  
above.

<sup>1</sup> Fr. Gregorio Garcia, *Origen de los Indios*. Libro 2, cap. 4.

down. But instead of the heart pierced by a dart, we have agave-leaf spikes and bone dagger, and a jewelled necklace set with golden bells (*chaleh'uhcozaypetlatl*), that is, we have here costly ornaments, valuable jewels, for the precious offering, the heart.

In the twelfth compartment Codex Borgia again shows a familiar form (Fig. 67), the god *Xipe Totec*, 'Our Lord the Flayed,' who is designed and equipped in the typical way, with his narrow slit eyes, the doublet made of the skin of a flayed man, and the loin-cloth painted in the colours of the *tlahquechol*, the red spoonbill, that is, red and white, and provided with end pieces (*maszaliukqui*) forking off a swallow-tail fashion. In Codex Borgia this wrap thus generally resembles the girdle of the god in form and colour, whereas in other manuscripts it is shown as a *tzapocueitl*, a short coat consisting of green foliage. In one hand the god holds his rattle-stick (*ehicauatzli*), likewise painted red and white, in the other the sacrificial knife (*tequatl*), and below him is pictured a jewelled string set with golden bells. The corresponding picture in Codex Bologna (Fig. 69), which occurs in the last, the thirteenth compartment, is interesting because it shews an advance from the full figure-drawing to a curtailed representation emphasising the salient points alone. Thus instead of *Xipe's* whole figure, his arm alone is given; but it is clearly indicated



Fig. 70. *Xiuhtecuhtli*, the Fire God, drilling fire on the rim-cerest, the turquoise snake. Codex Borgia 2 (= Kingsborough 37), above.



Fig. 71. *Xiuhtecuhtli*, the Fire-driller. Codex Vaticanus 3772 2 (= Kingsborough 51), above.



Fig. 72. *Xipe-teotl*, 'Fire-drill'. Codex Bologna 3, above.

as *Xipe's* arm by the red colour of the hand, and by the wavy outlines of the arm representing the wrinkles of the human skin drawn over it, and by its yellow painting, that is, the colour of the dead human skin. At the upper end of the arm is seen a flower. The hand grasps the rattle-stick (*ehicauatzli*), the hefted lower end of which is however omitted. The picture is completed with a little paper flag (*amajamitl*) and a sacrificial cord (*actamecatl*), emblems of the *Sacrificio Gladiatorio*, together with a jewelled string which shows the same essential elements as that of Codex Borgia.

In our manuscript the corresponding picture has changed places with that of the preceding compartment; hence, as in Codex Borgia, it is shown in the twelfth compartment of the upper row (Fig. 68). The figure is very remarkable, because it differs entirely from the usual representations, the god being here painted a blue colour and represented with an eagle's head. That *Xipe* is here indicated can be inferred only from the nape-shield, which reproduces the form of the *yopitzontli*, of *Xipe's* peaked cap, and from the alternate red and yellow colour of the loincloth. A jewelled string is shown protruding from the mouth of the figure.

In the last, the thirteenth, compartment of the upper row of the first *Tinamalal* quarter we see in Codex Borgia the interesting picture at Fig. 70—the Fire God, *Xiuhtecuhtli*, who is quite distinctly characterised by his facial painting, his tiara broadening upwards (*xiuhtotomecatli*), and his two arrow-shafts (*ome quammamaliti*). He is fire-drilling, and doing this on the body of a blue snake (*Xiuhtecuhtli*).



a distinct mythical being which forms the disguise (*nanalli*) of the Fire God and related deities, and is indicated especially by a snout end bent upwards and backwards, or simply involted. We see the fire shooting up at the sides of the lower end of the twirling stick, and the tail end of the *Xiuacuatl* itself is shaped like a flame and set with fiery tongues. Owing to the figure that has been inserted in the upper row of the first *Tonalamatl* quarter in the sixth compartment of our manuscript (cf. Fig. 53), and in the tenth of Codex Bologna (cf. Fig. 62), in the two other manuscripts the pictures corresponding to the Fire God of Codex Borgia have been shifted, after the beginning of the second *Tonalamatl* quarter, to the first compartment of the upper row of Sheet 3. In our manuscript there is seen the picture which I here specially reproduce at Fig. 71, also representing a fire-driller, but whose body and limbs are painted with yellow (red) stripes, as with *Mixicuatl*, while all the posterior half of the face is black.

Lastly, in Codex Bologna (Fig. 72) a reduced form is again substituted for the full figure, as with the *Xipe* of the previous compartment. But the fire is indicated by the butterfly-like figure which we see at the lower end of the drill, this figure being the image of the *tlapapatl*, which is a synonym of the *tlerochtli* and a symbol of flame. By its side the artist has further added a sacrificial cord (*astamecatl*), perhaps more from aesthetic considerations, to fill up the vacant space.

Now if we survey the whole of the pictures that make up the upper row of the first *Tonalamatl* quarter, we shall doubtless have in the first place to take with a little reservation the above expressed conjecture that this upper row also merely contains fuller developments of what was regarded as the nature of the deity (here *Quetzalcoatl*) representing the *Tonalamatl* quarter. Pictures, such as the Sun Bird descending on the sacrificial dish, the skeleton dragging in a captive, and the bundle of spears, emblem of war, which we met in the fourth compartment of the upper row of our manuscript, we can scarcely venture to look upon as special characteristics of the nature of the particular deity of this first *Tonalamatl* quarter. These were representations which undoubtedly constantly recurred with the different deities, and answered to the numerous forms and symbols which have relation to sacrifice, and with which we see the large figures of the *Tonalamatl* of Codex Borbonicus surrounded with wearisome repetition. Such being the case,

pictures of this category, such as the bird of Fig. 53 in the sixth compartment of our manuscript, and the skeleton of Fig. 62 in the tenth compartment of Codex Bologna, may surely have been used at the artist's pleasure as insertions or for filling in vacant places. Of the other pictures of this first upper row, the initial one et Figs. 41, 42, the Penitent in the temple, is doubtless in point of fact merely a paraphrase, so to say, or a fuller description of the nature of *Quetzalcoatl*. But to the other pictures, which, as we have seen, present us with a series of various deities, we shall have presumably to ascribe some such significance as that, for instance, of the Vedic hymns, where one god is called by



Fig. 73. Synchronisation, the Throtler. Codex Borgia 2 (= Kingsborough 26), below.



Fig. 74. Synchronisation, the Throtler. Codex Bologna 2, below.



Fig. 75. Hemanalli. Offerings — Rubber Ball, Lacrus Vessel, and Eagle's Foot. Codex Borgia 3 (= Kingsborough 26), below.



Fig. 76. Hemanalli. Offerings — Lacrus Vessel, Rubber Ball, Human Forearm (?) and Jaguar's Tail. Codex Bologna 3, below.

the names of several others. Thus I would in point of fact explain the pictures of the third, fourth, sixth, seventh, eighth, tenth to thirteenth compartments of *Codex Borjia*, somewhat in the following way:—*Quetzalcoatl*, the great Penitent in the temple, is (Figs. 47, 48) the Rain God descending from heaven and striking with lightning; he is in (Figs. 49, 50) the god born of *Chimalman*; he dwells in (Figs. 54, 55) as



Fig. 77. Ruler of the Fifteenth Day-Count  
'quandah, ' Eagle.'  
*Codex Borjia* 23 (= Kingsborough 16).



Fig. 78. Incense Vessel figured  
before the Sun God.  
*Codex Borjia* 18  
(= Kingsborough 21).



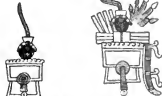
Fig. 79. Fire Vessel figured before  
Chantico, Godless of Fire.  
*Codex Borjia* 63  
(= Kingsborough 53).



Fig. 80 a-c. Incense Vessels, with Copal and Rubber, figured before the five *Utitomas*.  
*Codex Borjia* 47, 48 (= Kingsborough 66, 69).



Figs. 81-84. Incense Vessels figured before the  
Deities of the Four Vices.  
*Codex Borjia* 72 (= Kingsborough 42).



Figs. 85, 86. Incense Vessels figured before  
*Tlacuicpacantli* and *Mictlanotecli*.  
*Codex Borjia* 76, 75 (= Kingsborough 38, 40).

*Tonacatecutli* in the uppermost thirteenth heaven; he descends (Figs. 56, 57) as *Mictlanotecli* to the under world; he is (Figs. 58, 59) the constellation of the Scorpion in the sky. He is (Figs. 63, 64) the sacrificing priest; he is (Figs. 65, 66) the Sun; he is (Figs. 67-69) *Xipe Totec*; he is (Figs. 70-72) the Fire God.

In the second *Tonantli* quarter the initial picture (cf. Figs. 4-6 *supra*, p. 8) in the lower row of *Codex Borjia* is followed by Fig. 73, a naked form represented like that in the eleventh compartment of the lower

row of the first *Tonalamatl* quarter (cf. Fig. 35 *supra*, p. 19), which has likewise grasped a snake, but here draws a cord round his neck to strangle himself. The corresponding picture of Codex Bologna (Fig. 74) obviously represents a like scene. But a deviation is shown by our manuscript. Here, in the second compartment of the second *Tonalamatl* quarter, the fifteenth of the whole series, we have again the sun, from which a stream of blood flows down; in the stream a heart pierced by a dart, and below a jewelled dish.

In the third compartment, the sixteenth of the whole series, in Codex Borgia (Fig. 75) and in Codex Bologna (Fig. 76), sacrificial offerings follow:—A rubber ball, and beside it a vessel of a form which we have already met once before in the eighth compartment of the first *Tonalamatl* quarter (Fig. 29 *supra*, p. 17), but from which here flowers shoot upwards; lastly, a dish with an animal's foot. Of some interest and of importance for the understanding of the whole group is the large vessel which is seen on the right side of Fig. 75. It is evidently four-sided, with a broad foot likewise four-sided, white, that is, doubtless unpainted, ornamented only with a *chalehuilitl* disk, which, however, may also be an allusion to its valuable contents. But in other parts of the manuscript roses of notches are very often suggested on the surface of such vessels. The upper rim is formed like the froth of some liquid. Hence one might conjecture



that it is intended for a vessel containing a liquor (pulque, atole). But in the previous place (Fig. 29) we saw a rubber ball on it. And in fact nearly everywhere where we meet with vessels of this form and ornamentation a *smoking* or *burnt offering* is represented with it. At Figs. 77-86 I have brought together a number of the more important incidents, and a glance at these pictures will suffice to recognise the correctness of what has just been said. We see a preference in fact shown for depicting rows of notches on incense-vessels. In my book on *Obscured*<sup>1</sup> I have described several very interesting forms of such incense-vessels which come from the borders of Chiapas and Guatemala, and are likewise unpainted but bristle with notches on the outside. And the well-known notched vessels from *Lake Amatitlan* were evidently also incense-vessels. Hence the upper rim of the above figured Codex Borgia vessels, which looks like foam, must either indicate a peculiar style of rim ornamentation (wavy bands in appliqué work?), or else is intended to illustrate the melting and swelling resinous substance. In any case the four flowers shown on the vessel of our Fig. 75, with which must presumably be included the fifth flower standing a little apart, can indicate nothing but such sweet-smelling resin, and the whole picture must be a burnt-offering.

<sup>1</sup> *Sieher, die alten Ansehungen von Obscured, in Distrikte Nenden des Departements Hachotenango der Republik Guatemala, Berlin (Dietrich Reimer) 1901, pp. 119, 128, 129, 146-178, 181-182.*

Strange to say, in this division also our manuscript shows complete divergence, since here are shown no offerings, but a striding and evidently male figure is depicted, which grasps a staff in both hands.

But from the following department forward, the seventeenth of the whole series, all three manuscripts are again in accord. Codex Borgia (Fig. 87) shows a striding woman clothed in a blue *quechquemil* and a blue enagua, and in her hand holding an object set with bells, and surmounted with a flower (a tinkling wand?). Flames flare up from her head, as well as from the *quechquemil* and the enagua. The Codex Bologna picture (Fig. 88) is evidently analogous. In her hand she holds a dart, its head crowned with a flower. Our manuscript also shows a striding female figure in the lower compartment of the 17th column. The object held in her hand might be intended for a gourd-rattle (*ayacochli*).

In the fifth compartment of the second *Tonalamall* quarter, the eighteenth of the whole series, we see in Codex Borgia (Fig. 89) the sky represented above, under it two snakes, a yellow and a red, and a dish below. *One of the two snakes, the red, is cut in two pieces by a flint knife.* The Codex Bologna picture



Fig. 91. *Amantalli*, Offerings —  
Incense Vessel, Bundle of Fire-  
wood and Rubber Ball,  
a Bird's Foot and  
Sacrificial-blowl Dish.  
Codex Borgia 3  
(= Kingsborough 36), below.



Fig. 92.  
Offerings and  
a Water Vessel closed  
with a lid.  
Codex Bologna 3,  
below.



Fig. 94.  
Sacrificial Knife and  
Sacrificial Flag.  
Codex Borgia 4  
(= Kingsborough 35),  
below.



Fig. 95. The  
Sacrificial Knife God.  
Codex  
Bologna, 3, 4,  
below.

(Fig. 90) apparently deviates, since here is depicted neither the sky nor a dish, but a female figure. But in her hand this female figure holds a snake, which—and this is obviously the essential part of the scene—is cut in two pieces. The cutting implement, the stone knife, is held by the woman in her right hand. As a particularity, I further lay stress on the fact that a flower is pictured before the mouth of the figure here represented. In our manuscript a snake only is shown (Fig. 91). It is coiled up like a ring, and in a middle line stricken by a large knife, with which it is evidently intended to be cut in two.<sup>1</sup> These three representations should be compared with Figs. 14<sup>a</sup> and 14<sup>b</sup> (see *infra*, p. 45), which we shall have to discuss with the third *Tonalamall* quarter. From the association it will there be seen that we are to take the snake hanging from the sky as an emblem of rain. Hence the snake cut in two must here signify the *interrupted rain*, the *cessation of rain*, *rainlessness*.

In the next following sixth compartment, the nineteenth of the whole series, in Codex Borgia (Fig. 92) the sky is again pictured, and under it all kinds of offerings—a kind of jar painted a yellow colour, which shows above a foaming brim like the previously described incense-vessels. One may doubt whether here also an

<sup>1</sup> By an oversight Kingsborough's erroneous design is reproduced on the illustrating plate, his draughtsman having taken the stone knife for an arrow-head.

incense-vessel is intended to be represented—although this might be conjectured from the analogy with the other groups—or a flowing goblet. Beside it we see a bundle of firewood surmounted by a rubber ball, a dish with a bird's foot, and a sacrificial-blood dish. In our manuscript nothing is shown in the nineteenth column, save a rubber ball in a vessel from which fire flares up. This suggests that in the Codex Borgia picture also the burnt-offering (the incense-vessel, and the bundle of firewood with the rubber ball) was the essential thing intended to be exhibited. And, in fact, in the corresponding Codex Bologna picture (Fig. 93) similar offerings are apparently to be seen, although they are pictured above on a very small scale. But below is shown a large water-vessel closed with a lid, which in any case must be taken as the chief representation.

In the seventh compartment, the twentieth of the whole series, Codex Borgia (Fig. 94) has an arm and a hand which grasps a sacrificial knife (*tecpatl*), and a little paper flag (*amapamiltl*) used for decorating the offerings. Both from the hand and the elbow a wreath of flowers is suspended. In Codex Bologna (Fig. 95) the sacrificial knife is held by a mannikin shown in full figure, all but the head, which is severed, while an eye shoots up from the wound in the neck. The mannikin is seated on a *zochitpetl*, a kind



Fig. 96. *Huamantli*, Offerings. Codex Borgia 4 (=Kingsborough 35), below.



Fig. 97. *Huamantli*, Offerings. Codex Bologna 4, below.



Fig. 98. Eagle's Foot, emblem of the Goddess of Fire, of Xochimilco, and *ciapatli*-head. Codex Borgia 4 (=Kingsborough 35), below.



Fig. 99. Eagle's Foot, emblem of the Goddess of Fire, of Xochimilco, and *ciapatli*-head. Codex Bologna 4, below.

of little mountain with a flower on its summit. Unintelligible is the picture in the lower compartment of the twentieth column in our manuscript. The hand grasping the sacrificial knife may certainly be recognised, but the rest cannot be made out, and was perhaps misdrawn in the copying.

In the eighth compartment, the twenty-first of the whole series, in Codex Borgia (Fig. 96) we again see offerings similar to those of the sixth compartment of this row (Fig. 92, p. 32), as well as to those of the eighth compartment of the preceding first *Tonalamatl* quarter (Fig. 29, p. 17). The corresponding compartment of our manuscript shows us quite a superstructure, diverse dishes piled one on the other, and surmounted by a rubber ball. In the Codex Bologna picture also (Fig. 97) we are shown a superstructure, and indeed here a rubber ball seems to lie at the base, above it a casket, and above that a large flower, or the hieroglyph *chalehuilitl*, but from which a red substance wells out, and above that again two jewelled bands are suspended. With these offerings, too, the essential thing seems to be the rubber ball, that is, the burnt-offering. With regard to the Codex Bologna picture (Fig. 97), I may remark that in the Maya language *k'ik*, 'blood,' or *k'ik hab'en*, 'stanch'd blood,' is an expression for rubber.

In the ninth compartment, the twenty-second of the whole series, the three manuscripts again agree exactly and completely in all details. In Codex Borgia (Fig. 98) we see a rubber ball (*otletotl*), and on it an eagle's foot with the ball and the claws turned upwards, its feathers, as is usual with the eagle, edged

round with stone knives to denote the warlike nature of the animal; but the skin of the foot is further marked with jaguar spots, in order to make the whole a symbol of the *guauhtli-oetotl*, the 'jaguar and eagle,' that is, the 'warrior.' Lastly, above this eagle's foot is further seen the head of the *cipaectli*, the sign of the first of the twenty days. In exactly the same way we have in the Codex Bologna picture (Fig. 99) the rubber ball below, and above it the eagle's foot. Only the stone knives, which in the Codex Borgia figure alone edge the plumage, are here somewhat unintelligible, being of a large size, and strange to say, set up beside the base of the foot. The head of the *cipaectli* is given below at the right side of the



Fig. 100. Jewelled Dish with the Eagle's Foot. In front of *Chantico*, the Fire Goddess of *Xochimilco*, Ruler of the eighteenth *Tonaluamatl* division. Codex Borbonicus 18.



Fig. 100a. *Alpapetlatl*, the Warrior's Device, 'Fire Butterfly,' and the *quauhtli-oetotl*, the Shield with the Eagle's Foot, Tribute of the Chinampanca. Libro de Tributos 4 = Codex Mendoza 43.



Fig. 101. The Heavenly Wanderer. Codex Borgia 4 (= Knipfenschug 30), below.



Fig. 102. The Heavenly Wanderer. Codex Bologna 4, below.



Fig. 103. The Heavenly Wanderer. Codex Vaticanus 3713, Sheet 4 (= Knipfenschug 59), below.

picture. In our manuscript rubber ball and eagle's foot are likewise distinctly shown. But a *cipaectli*-head, although certainly a small one, seems also to be pictured between the claws of the eagle's foot; the lines, however, are somewhat obliterated or not quite correctly made out by the writer; and, moreover, a bunch of feathers or of jewelled things falls to the left from the head. The eagle's foot picked out with jaguar spots was the badge of *Chantico*, the Fire Goddess of *Xochimilco*, and in Codex Borbonicus, on Sheet 18, where *Chantico* is represented as ruler of the eighteenth *Tonaluamatl* division, we see the eagle's foot figured before the goddess (Fig. 100). The interpreters relate that the goddess appears at night to terrified mortals, who see nothing of her but the foot of an eagle. The eagle's foot is in like manner characteristic of the related beings, the *Ciwacoatl*, the goddess of *Cotahuacan*, the *Coatlucue*, the mother

of *Utzilopochtli*, and other personages who had their home in the district of the *Xochimilco* lagoon, all of whom wear a shield with an eagle's foot as their emblem (*quauhpachinhuai chimalli*, cf. Fig. 100a), and are figured exactly like *Coatltecuc*, with jaguar claws and eagle feathers on arms and legs. The occupation of the Earth Goddesses as Death Gods, as Gods of War, finds expression in this equipment. Not quite in accordance with this is the sign *cipactli*, which is pictured at Figs. 98, 99 beside the eagle's foot, and which we are in the habit of regarding as symbol of the fruitful earth.

The tenth compartment, twenty-third of the whole series, shows us in Codex Borgia (Fig. 101) a wandering figure with the travelling-pack (*tlamamalli*) on his back, this being supported by the *mecapalli*, the broad straw-platted band brought over his forehead. In his hand the figure holds a staff, while a quetzal bird is perched on the load. In the two other manuscripts also wandering persons are pictured staff in hand, and bearing the travelling-pack on their shoulders. In Codex Bologna (Fig. 102) the staff has the form of a snake, and the quetzal bird is depicted hovering free above the figure. In our manuscript (Fig. 103) the staff is a *chicauacalli*, a rattle-stick, such as is carried by *Xipe*, and by the earth, maize, and water deities. The lower end of this staff is wrapped in flaves. In our manuscript a



Fig. 104. The Wanderer of the North.  
Codex Borgia 05 (= Kingsborough 00).



Fig. 105. The Wanderer of the South.  
Codex Borgia 55 (= Kingsborough 60).

quetzal bird is not shown—for want of room? The Codex Borgia picture (Fig. 101) recalls in the most striking manner one of the two figures which on Sheet 55 (= Kingsborough 60) we see figured, also with the travelling-pack on its back, and with staff and fan in its hand (Figs. 104, 105).

I have described the sheet in my elucidation of Codex Fejérváry-Mayer.<sup>1</sup> It shows in the first place the sun and moon, then a god half blue, half red, equipped with the attributes of *Quetzalcoatl*, then the two persons at Figs. 104, 105, and lastly the old God of Heaven, *Istac Mixcoatl*. I have there expressed the view that by these two Figs. 104, 105, the eternally wandering stars are intended to be symbolised, and in fact the starry sky of the North and the South.

In the eleventh compartment, twenty-fourth of the whole series, the picture of the second compartment is in a way repeated (cf. Figs. 73, 74 *supra*, p. 29). In Codex Borgia (Fig. 106) we see a naked person tightening the noose round its neck. Beside its head is shown a rubber ball. In Codex Bologna (Fig. 107), as in Figs. 73 and 35, the naked person is combined with a snake in a single group, and indeed here the snake seems to serve as the throttling-string. In our manuscript is again pictured simply a naked person, who is drawing the noose tightly round his neck, but here we see from the large and distinctly drawn penis that it is intended for a man.

In the twelfth compartment, the twenty-fifth of the whole series, we meet with rubber ball (*otlototli*)

<sup>1</sup> Berlin and Leiden, 1901-1902, pp. 150-164.

and the green jewel (*chalchixtli*) as essential elements of the picture. In Codex Borgia (Fig. 108) above is depicted the sky, with two *chalchixtli* disks, from which two *chalchixtli* bands hang down. Below follows the rubber ball, below which is a jewelled string set with bells, and lowest of all a *chalchixtli*-dish. Beside the rubber ball are shown two full eyes such as we met with the Sun God (Fig. 10 *supra*, p. 11), and farther on will again come upon with the solar picture (Fig. 225) in the upper row of the fourth *Tonalamatl* quarter. In our manuscript, in the lower division of the twenty-fifth column, the sky is similarly pictured above, under it a rubber ball, and below all a large and finely drawn *chalchixtli*, exactly like the figure with which in the historical picture-writings the hier-glyph of the city of Chalco is figured. From the middle of the *chalchixtli* there further hangs a jewelled thong, while the *chalchixtli* itself stands out from a blue disk set with bells, which is doubtless intended to represent a jewelled necklace, a *chalchibecocpetlatl*. In Codex Bologna (Fig. 109) the sky is missing. The rubber ball, which, as always in this manuscript, is painted in two colours, half red half yellow, occupies the centre of a green disk set all round with golden bells, that is to say, it is combined with the *chalchixtli* in a kind of double picture.

The last compartment of this *Tonalamatl* quarter again shows us the burning temple, in Codex Borgia (Fig. 110), almost exactly as in the seventh compartment of the lower row of the first *Tonalamatl* quarter (cf. Fig. 27 *supra*, p. 17); in Codex Bologna (Fig. 111) again with the deer's head which denotes



Fig. 106. *Apachmetéwani*,  
the Throttler,  
Codex Borgia 4  
(= Kingsborough 35), below.



Fig. 107. *Apachmetéwani*,  
the Throttler,  
Codex Bologna 4,  
below.



Fig. 108.  
Codex Borgia 4  
(= Kingsborough 35),  
below.



Fig. 109.  
Codex Bologna 4,  
below.

the flame; and also in our manuscript it is in this instance to be distinctly recognised as a burning temple with roof falling in.

Now the question arises, whether for these twelve pictures, which in the lower row of the second *Tonalamatl* quarter follow the *Tezcatlipuca* figure pictured at the beginning of this quarter, we have to assume, in the same way as we had with the first *Tonalamatl* quarter, that in them we have before us merely a fuller exposition of what constitutes the nature of the deity of this second *Tonalamatl*, or, what comes to the same, whether we have in fact to regard them merely as the diversely varied expression of the notions associated by the Mexicans with this second region, the region of the North. Here I would make an exception for the groups of offerings (cf. Figs. 75, 76 *supra*, p. 29) figured in Codex Borgia and in the Bologna in the third compartment of this series, and also for the picture of the sun, the stream of blood, and the heart shown in the second compartment in our manuscript, Codex Vaticanus. For both pictures I would assume, just as I above assumed for the solar bird descending on the sacrificial-blood dish, and for the skeleton with the captive, that they are to be taken as the expression of general sacrificial notions conventionally reiterated, and again and again repeated with various deities. But as to all the other pictures, I really believe that they do more or less accurately reflect the notions which for the Mexicans were associated with the region of the North.

For the Mexicans the North was the region of drought. This is clearly expressed on the interesting



Sheet 27 (= Kingsborough 12) of Codex Borgia, where we see the years of the North, and the second *Tonalamatl* quarter corresponding to the North, symbolised by a cloudless sky radiating sunbeams alone, and by a parched soil which is cracked in clods, and on which the few sprouting maize ears are eaten away by winged insects. In harmony with this we also find amongst the representations of the lower row of this second *Tonalamatl* quarter the rain-snake cut in two by the stone knife (Figs. 89-91), and the water-vessel closed by a lid (Fig. 93). We see the eagle's foot attached to a rubber ball and spotted like a jaguar (Figs. 98, 99), the token of *Chentico*, the Fire Goddess of *Xochimilco* and of the beings related to her; and perhaps this goddess herself (Figs. 87, 88). Lastly, at the end the fire symbolised by the burning temple



Fig. 110. *Atel Fire*,  
Codex Borgia 4  
(= Kingsborough 30),  
below.



Fig. 111. *Atel Fire*,  
Codex Bologna 4,  
below.



Fig. 112. *Xochipototl*,  
Goddess of Flowers,  
Codex Borgia 3,  
(= Kingsborough 36), above.



Fig. 113. *temant*,  
who has taken a captive,  
Codex Borgia 3  
(= Kingsborough 36), above.



Fig. 114. *temant*,  
who has taken a captive,  
Codex Bologna 3,  
above.



Fig. 115. *Xochipilli*,  
God of Flowers,  
Codex Borgia 3  
(= Kingsborough 36), above.



Fig. 116. *Xochipilli*,  
God of Flowers,  
Codex Bologna 3,  
above.

(Figs. 110, 111). Amongst the offerings too the rubber ball, the fire-offering, plays a prominent part. The two figures throttling themselves (Figs. 73, 74, and 106, 107) I would bring into association with the pulque, since the god of that liquor was actually called *tequehuacauiani*, 'the Throttler.' The sacrificial knife (Fig. 94) and the decapitated man (Fig. 95) denote perhaps the region of stone or the Sacrificial Knife God, while the wandering person (Figs. 101-103) may be intended to indicate the stars of the northern heavens.

Now, when we pass to the upper row of the representations of this second *Tonalamatl* quarter, Codex Bologna and our manuscripts have here, as already above stated, at the beginning of the row, the fire-drill and the twirling stick, which, according to Codex Borgia, properly belong to the close of the representations of the first *Tonalamatl* quarter (cf. Figs. 71, 72 *supra*). I think we must here assume a supplementary

and intentional displacement arising from the consideration that *Tescatlipoeca*, who stands at the beginning of this *Tonalamatl* quarter as representative both of it and of the North, was in fact himself the *Fire-driller*.<sup>1</sup> In any case the representations, the insertion of which brought about the specified displacement—in Codex Vaticanus the bird on the sacrificial-blood dish (Fig. 53); in Codex Bologna the skeleton with the captive (Fig. 62)—are merely general representations of offerings without any special significance for the row in which they occur.

At the beginning of the upper row of the second *Tonalamatl* quarter Codex Borgis has the Fig. 112:—A goddess seated in a temple, clothed in a red enagua, and with the same string of five beads ending in a Bow as *Tescatlipoeca* himself, God of the North (Fig. 4). Evidently this figure is intended for *Xochiquetzal*, Lady of the Dance-house (*cueicacalli*), and patroness of the female associates of the warriors, standing here as the counterpart to *Tescatlipoeca* as Lord of the Bachelors' House (*tepochealli*) and patron of war. In Codex Bologna a corresponding figure is absent. In our manuscript the same goddess is obviously symbolised by the figure in the temple pictured in the second place in the upper row of Sheet 3.

As in this first column, so likewise in all the rest, a parallelism is shown between the representations of the upper and lower rows in Codex Borgis. This is indeed just what we should expect. In this respect Codex Bologna—apart from a solitary irregularity—follows Codex Borgis, whereas in our Vatican manuscript the displacement which began with the shifting of the fire-quirler from the end of the first to the beginning of the second *Tonalamatl* quarter, is continued to the end of the series; here there can be no question of any parallelism between the upper and lower rows in our manuscript.

The second compartment of the upper row, fifteenth of the whole series, again contains in Codex Borgis a skeleton with a captive (Fig. 113). In the lower row in this column the figure strangling itself had been pictured (Fig. 73, p. 29). In Codex Bologna in the same compartment Fig. 114 corresponds to Fig. 113. In our manuscript the corresponding figure is shifted to the third compartment, the sixteenth of the whole series.

In the third column, sixteenth of the whole series, where in the lower compartment Codex Borgis shows offerings, amongst them a large incense-vessel (Fig. 75, p. 29), in the upper compartment we see seated on the chair a priest or a god (Fig. 115), who holds in one hand a sacrificial knife (*tepatl*), with the other conveys to his mouth a dish in which is apparently contained a brown-coloured drink, bearing flowers on its surface. From the above expositions here one might again doubt whether the object shown is really a liquor, or whether perhaps it is to be taken as the scum of a sweet-smelling resin, whether it may not be meant to denote the drinking of the incense by the god.

In Codex Bologna the corresponding figure (Fig. 116) has changed places with the next following one. It occurs in the fourth compartment, seventeenth of the whole series. Here, too, is seen seated on a chair a figure which has likewise grasped a sacrificial knife, though in a somewhat awkward spasmodic way. Here the dish is missing, but the figure is decked with a wreath of flowers in its hair, in the same manner as is the goddess of the ninth compartment, who is conveying a dish to her mouth. In our manuscript the whole row has been displaced, so that the corresponding representation is also found in the fourth compartment, but with the difference that here is seen a temple only with an offering, though this again is a rubber ball. This points once more to the inference that in the whole of this division the subject in hand is not the drinking of a liquor, but the inhaling of incense.

In the fourth column, seventeenth of the whole series, Codex Borgis shows us in the lower row a striding goddess enveloped in flames (cf. Fig. 87 *supra*, p. 31). And in the upper row is likewise seen a striding goddess enveloped in flames (Fig. 117). Only here she holds in her hand a stone hatchet and a sacrificial knife. The flames are missing in the Codex Bologna figure (Fig. 118), which has here changed places with the preceding picture, and stands in the third compartment. But she also holds a hatchet in her hand, and her hair is set with eyes. The corresponding picture in our manuscript, which we have to look for in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königl. Museum für Völkerkunde, vol. vi. (1898), p. 120.

the fifth compartment, the eighteenth of the whole series, again deviates, although the fundamental idea is perhaps meant to be the same. Instead of the Fire Goddess we have a *yellow bird*, holding in its claws a bone dagger, the implement of mortification. It is however possible that here also, instead of the specific representation, one of the conventional offering scenes is again depicted. For almost an exactly similar figure recurs two compartments farther on, where the other manuscripts show the Sun-bird descending on the sacrificial dish.

In the fifth column, eighteenth of the whole row, in Codex Borgia is seen below the rain-snake cut in two by the stone knife (cf. Fig. 89 *supra*, p. 31). Instead of this we have in the upper row the Fig. 119, a



Fig. 117. The Fire Goddess.  
Codex Borgia 3  
(= Kingsborough 26',  
above.



Fig. 118.  
The Fire Goddess.  
Codex Bologna 2,  
above.



Fig. 119. *mihtlamta*,  
the Region of Hades.  
Codex Borgia 2,  
(= Kingsborough 26'), above.



Fig. 120. *mihtlamta*,  
the Region of Hades.  
Codex Bologna 3,  
above.



Fig. 121.  
The Descent on the Offerings.  
Codex Borgia 2  
(= Kingsborough 26'), above.



Fig. 122.  
The Descent on the Offerings.  
Codex Bologna 3,  
above.



Fig. 123.  
Codex Borgia 4  
(= Kingsborough 35),  
above.



Fig. 124.  
Codex Bologna 3, 4,  
above.

yawning throat of Earth, and within it a skull, into the jaws of which a human figure tumbles head foremost. As I understand it, expression is here given, not to drought, but to the region of drought, the realm of the dead, *mihtlamta*, the North. The two other manuscripts have quite corresponding figures. That of Codex Bologna (Fig. 120) stands in the same compartment, that of our manuscript in the next, as in fact always in this series.

In the sixth column, nineteenth of the whole series, below we found offerings (cf. Fig. 92 *supra*, p. 32) which in Codex Bologna alone acquired a further special significance from the water-vessel which is figured beside it closed with a lid. Corresponding with this we see in the upper row the solar bird descending on the sacrificial dish, pictured quite in a like way both in Codex Borgia (Fig. 121) and in

Bologna (Fig. 122), but in our manuscript (in the seventh compartment) replaced by a figure almost exactly similar to that in the fifth compartment of our manuscript.

In the following column, twentieth of the whole series, where in the lower row was shown an arm grasping the sacrificial knife and ceremonial flag (cf. Fig. 94 *supra*, p. 32), we see in the upper row in full correspondence a similar arm which grasps a hatchet, and together with it a severed head (Fig. 123). As in the described representation, chains of flowers are hanging down below, so here we see above arm and hand set round with flowers. Save that therewith is further to be seen a burning temple rent (struck by lightning?). Codex Bologna (Fig. 124) has quite an analogous scene, except that the burning temple is lacking. In our manuscript are depicted (in the eighth compartment) a hand grasping a severed head and a burning temple, but the hatchet is missing.

In the eighth compartment of the lower row, twenty-first of the whole series, we saw in Codex Borgia an ill-defined representation, in fact nothing but offerings (cf. Fig. 96 *supra*, p. 33). It is different here in the upper row, where Codex Borgia (Fig. 125), and similarly the other two manuscripts, Codex Bologna (Fig. 126) and (in the next, ninth compartment) our manuscript, show as a *marine snail's shell*



Fig. 125. The God enclosed in the Shell.  
Codex Borgia 4  
(= Kingsborough 35),  
above.



Fig. 126. The God enclosed in the Shell.  
Codex Bologna 4,  
above.



Fig. 127. Xochiquetzal,  
the Flower Goddess.  
Codex Borgia 4  
(= Kingsborough 35),  
above.



Fig. 128. Xochiquetzal,  
the Flower Goddess.  
Codex Bologna 4,  
above.



Fig. 129. Tzotzilpua.  
Codex Vaticanus 3772,  
Sheet 4  
(= Kingsborough 52),  
above.

(*teetzitli*). In Codex Borgia (Fig. 125) we see emerging from this shell a man holding in his hand an agave-leaf spike set with flowers, that is, blood-stained; in Codex Bologna (Fig. 126) only a hand holding the bone dagger and agave-leaf spike; whereas in our manuscript at the mouth of the shell nothing more can be detected than just a jewelled ornament and perhaps the upper end of an agave-leaf spike. The snail is hid in the shell, and this again might have reference to the *waters being pent up*. As a rule the snail's shell is the emblem of the moon, which is also, at least at times, shut up in the shell at the new or young moon. But the snail was also brought into association with conception, pregnancy, and birth,—porque así como sale del hueso el caracol, así sale el hombre del vientre de su madre.<sup>1</sup> Incidents, however, to be mentioned further on make it probable that this figure should really be referred to the waters being pent up.

In the ninth column, twenty-second of the whole series, while in the lower row of all three manuscripts the goddess *Chantico's* eagle-foot was pictured (cf. Figs. 98, 99 *supra*, p. 33), in Codex Borgia (Fig. 127) is shown a goddess, who is seated in a temple with a high straw roof, and resembles the goddess of the twelfth compartment in the lower row of the preceding *Tonalanall* quarter (Fig. 37 *supra*, p. 19), is arrayed, like her, in a blue enagua, and has her hair adorned with a flower wreath, while apparently sipping from a blue

<sup>1</sup> Codex Telleriano Remensis, fol. 13 (= Kingsborough II, 11).

bowl a brown liquor embellished with a flower on its surface. The picture in Codex Bologna (Fig. 128) is not quite so characteristic, but the same elements can be recognised: the temple with high straw roof, the goddess clothed in a blue garment, with the flower-wreath in her hair, and the bowl with its contents indicated by a flower. Judging from her whole aspect and attributes, we shall doubtless have to identify this goddess as *Xochiquetzal*, as we had the other in the first of the upper divisions of this *Tonalamatl* quarter. On the other hand our manuscript differs. No doubt here also is seen a temple (Fig. 129) in the corresponding (the next following) compartment, but in it is seated a male figure showing the facial



Fig. 129. *Xochiquetzal*,  
the Flower God.  
Codex Borgia 4  
(= Kingsborough 35), above.



Fig. 131. *Xochiquetzal*,  
the Flower Goddess.  
Codex Bologna 4,  
above.



Fig. 132. *tepachmecuauhtli*,  
Throttling.  
Codex Borgia 4  
(= Kingsborough 35), above.



Fig. 133.  
*tepachmecuauhtli*,  
Throttling.  
Codex Bologna 4, above.



Fig. 134. *otomomtl*,  
Palque Vessel.  
Codex Borgia 4  
(= Kingsborough 35), above.



Fig. 135. *omo-tach-ahouitli*,  
Badge of the Palque God  
Mahaqun no. Academia  
de la Historia.



Fig. 136. *Magsaal*,  
Goddess of the Agave Plant.  
Codex Bologna 4,  
above.



Fig. 137. *mefl*,  
the Agave Plant.  
Codex Vaticanus 3772, Sheet 4  
(= Kingsborough 58), above.

painting of *Tezcutliposca*, who holds no bowl in his hand, but apparently a bone dagger, and perhaps an agave-leaf spike: the drawing, however, is so defective that I cannot venture to be quite sure of the latter.

In the following tenth column, twenty-third of the whole series, in the lower division we saw the wandering figure (Figs. 101-103 *supra*, p. 34), which I was inclined to regard as a symbol of the eternally wandering beings, of the stars (of the northern sky?). In the upper division we have evidently a different representation. In Codex Borgia we see a figure (Fig. 130) which in a measure appears as the male counterpart to the preceding, Fig. 127, being seated on a chair, with a dart in his hand, and offerings above him. Something quite similar is shown by Codex Bologna (Fig. 131). Only here, as in the preceding field, it is a female deity, so that in Codex Bologna the parallelism with the figure in the preceding field is

still more complete. Since we have identified the letter with *Xochiquetzal*, for the male person here pictured the name of *Xochipilli* will doubtless be appropriate. The corresponding figure in our manuscript, which occurs in the next following, the eleventh column, is again very indistinct. But that it is intended for a person similar to that of the two other manuscripts I would infer from its whole bearing, and from the large flower seen in its hair. But what kind of object the figure is meant to hold in its hand, I find it with the best of intentions impossible to make out. From the analogy of the figures in the two other manuscripts one can but surmise that it is likewise meant for a dart.

In the eleventh column, twenty-fourth of the whole series, we saw below a person throttling himself (cf. Fig. 106 *supra*, p. 36). To this fully correspond the pictures which are shown in the upper division by the three manuscripts, and in all three contain much the same elements. The most distinct is the Codex Borgia figure (Fig. 132). Here we see a bound captive riding on a sort of trostle made of dead men's bones, with fire and water issuing from his mouth. Nearly the same is shown by the picture in our manuscript (in the next following, twelfth compartment). Only here blood alone issues from the mouth, from which one may infer that the water and the fire issuing from the mouth of the Codex Borgia figure are also intended for blood. Moreover, in our manuscript a coil is further

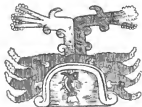


Fig. 132. *vefti*, the Agave Plant.  
Codex Vaticanus 3773, Sheet 41 (= Kingsborough 48).



Fig. 133. *Maysuel*, Goddess of the Agave Plant.  
Codex Borgia 10 (= Kingsborough 25).

depicted in front of the figure. Lastly, in Codex Bologna (Fig. 133) we see the figure fastening the cord round his neck, whereby the parallel with the representation in the lower compartment of this column is complete.

In the twelfth column, twenty-fifth of the whole series, in the lower division, conspicuous as chief elements, were a rubber ball (*otlototli*), a jewel and jewelled ornament (*chalchiquitl*) (cf. Figs. 108, 109 *supra*, p. 36). A highly significant representation appears to be figured in the upper division. The Codex Borgia picture (Fig. 134) shows us, on a grass or reed mat set with downy feather tufts, a pulque-vessel (*otocamatl*) with wing-like lateral parts similar to those seen, for instance, attached to the vessel which forms the *omotechtlaniztli*, the 'Device of the Pulque God' (Fig. 135), and in the design of the *omotechtlaniztli*, the 'Mantle of the Pulque God' in the Codex Mendoza tribute roll. Above the pulque-vessel the Codex Borgia picture further shows a hand holding a bone dagger, where again the flowers naturally indicate the blood, and on the upper margin of the sheet a jewelled (*chalchiquitl*) dish, whose feet are formed in the shape of birds' heads, and on the other side a pulque-dish. On the other hand Codex Bologna (Fig. 136) exhibits, instead of the pulque-vessel, *Maysuel*, Goddess of the Agave Plant. That this is the personage really meant to be shown we learn from the picture which we see in the corresponding compartment (the thirteenth) of Codex Vaticanus, and which I have reproduced at Fig. 137. This remarkable representation, which it is by no means easy to unravel, is in fact found to be merely a bad and inaccurate drawing of a picture which recurs, better executed,

on Sheet 40 of our manuscript (Fig. 138). Here we recognise the agave plant with its leaves and double spike of bloom, and within it a vessel with inverted mouth, studded with jewels and filled with a liquor, and a fish drinking at the bottom which here forms the upper arch. The picture at Fig. 138 is replaced in Codex Borgia by Fig. 139, which shows us the goddess *Mayanel* herself in front of an agave plant and a fish sucking at her breasts.

The last picture, in the thirteenth column, twenty-sixth of the whole series, should correspond with the burning temple which we see figured in the lower compartment of this column (cf. Figs. 110, 111 *supra*, p. 37). Here, however, the parallel fails. The Codex Borgia picture (Fig. 140) is very similar to that of the tenth compartment (Fig. 130 *supra*, p. 41). Only there the god holds a dart in his hand, while here a hatchet is figured before him. Moreover, below the figure is seen an incense-vessel of similar form to that which we have repeatedly met amongst the offerings. Like the figure of the tenth compartment the god must be identified as *Xochipilli*. As the god in the tenth compartment of Codex Borgia is replaced in Codex Bologna (Fig. 131) by a female deity, so this god of the thirteenth compartment (Fig. 140) is likewise represented in Codex Bologna by a female figure



Fig. 140. *Xochipilli*, the Flower God. Codex Borgia 4 (= Kingsborough 35), above.



Fig. 141. *Xochiquetzal*, the Flower Goddess. Codex Bologna 4, above.



Fig. 142. The Goddess of Heaven and Human Beings on the Earth (the first pair). Codex Borgia 5 (= Kingsborough 34), below.



Fig. 143. The Goddess of Heaven and the First Human Pair. Codex Bologna 5, below.

(Fig. 141) who seems to be holding a jewelled (*chalcchisuitl*) hand in her hand. Before her is figured a plant, though certainly drawn in a very conventional way, but showing similar marks to those seen above the head of the Goddess of the Agave Plant in the preceding compartment (Fig. 126) of Codex Bologna. Here it is perhaps intended to indicate the *Tumucucan* or *Xochitl icauca*, the place of flowers, the paradise of the Earth Goddess. In our manuscript, owing to the displacement which has affected the whole of this series, the corresponding figure has been shifted to the first compartment of the third *Tonalamatl* quarter at the beginning of the upper row of Sheet 5. It is a figure quite similar to that in the upper division of Column 4, which answers to that of Column 23 in Codex Borgia (Fig. 130). Hence in our manuscript also full expression is given to the relation which we had to assume between the figures at Figs. 130 and 140 in Codex Borgia and the corresponding figures at Figs. 131 and 141 of Codex Bologna.

The figures pictured in the upper compartments of the second *Tonalamatl* quarter accordingly turn out to be merely counterparts, different expositions of the subject dealt with in the lower divisions. Hence the meaning which we had to assume for the latter figures we shall be able to consider as likewise partly valid for those of the upper divisions. A different or more significant concept seems to present itself, for instance, with the marine snail's shell which we saw figured in Column 22 of

our manuscript, and in the corresponding pictures (Figs 125, 126) of the two other manuscripts. It may be added that here, too, we clearly see, as we were already able to conjecture from the pictures of the *teyocamecaxiani*, the 'Throttler,' that the *pulque* and its deities are brought into association with the region of the North.

I pass on to the third *Tonalamatl* quarter, the region of the West. In the lower division of the first column we had met as ruler of this quarter the *Earth Goddess*, who in Codex Borgia (cf. Fig. 7 *supra*, p. 9) is figured with the head of the Rain God, and under a roof formed of maize ears and maize bloom, in the other manuscripts (Figs. 8, 9 *supra*, p. 9) is represented as *Civacoamatl* with jaguar claws and a skull for its head. But here also expression is at the same time given to the association with rain, growth, and prosperity, partly by a water-vessel, partly by blooming plants. The question now arises whether in the other pictures of this quarter the same notions are embodied.

In the lower row, the picture of the Earth Goddess in Column 29 is followed by a representation of the *Goddess of Heaven* as stretching like an arch above the earth, somewhat in the same way that the ancient Egyptians drew their heavenly goddess *Nut*, but still more imperfectly illustrated. In Codex



Fig. 144. *Itamonalli*,  
Offerings.  
Codex Borgia 5  
(= Kingsborough 34), below.



Fig. 145. *Itamonalli*,  
Offerings.  
Codex Bologna 5,  
below.



Fig. 146. *gucacalli*,  
a Priest. Codex Borgia 5  
(= Kingsborough 34),  
below.



Fig. 147. *gucacallamatl*  
as Priest (*gucacalli*).  
Codex Bologna 5,  
below.

Borgia (Fig. 142) we see above a kneeling female form, lying back upwards, face and breast downwards, who, thanks to the feather adornment worn on her head, may perhaps be identified with *Xochiquetzal*.

That this person is really meant for the Goddess of Heaven seems to be made clear from the corresponding figure in Codex Bologna (Fig. 143), since here we see pictured a female figure in the same attitude in a dark night sky set with eyes (that is, stars). Our manuscript again deviates a little, as in the upper margin of the compartment it places before the eyes of the observer, not a female, but a male person, shown, however, in the same position, with his back turned upwards. This accords with the Mexican notion of the firmament as a pair: *Citlalitu icue* and *Citlallotlancue*; for the ancient Mexicana regarded the heavens as the creating deity, the primordial source of all life, lords of generation. The uppermost thirteenth heaven was for them the *Omeycuan*, the place of the Twofold: *Tonacaciuatl*, *Tonacatecutli*; *Omeicuatl*, *Ometecutli*, 'the Lords of our Flesh,' 'the Lords of Food Supplies'; 'the Lords of the Twofold,' 'the Lords of Generation.' Thence were children sent into the world. It is this relation that here also is thought of in our picture, for below this deity of heaven, on the earth—on the crossway, as it is pictured in Codex Borgia—we see seated the little figures of a man and a woman. And even more distinct becomes the picture in Codex Bologna (Fig. 143), for there we see coming forth from the bosom of the goddess a flower, which she, as it were, is handing down (to the earth). A similar meaning we shall doubtless have to ascribe to the disk or the ball which in our manuscript is figured



between the God of Heaven above and the human pair below. The region of the female deities, *ciuatlanquetz*, the West, which is the home of the maize and of the dainties producing it, is also the seat of the Lords of Food Supplies, of the Lords of Procreation. Hence it is that here in the lower row of the third *Tonalamatl* quarter we see this remarkable picture accompanying that of the Earth Goddess.

Then in the third column, twenty-ninth of the whole series, there follows a somewhat uncharacteristic picture—offerings, which in Codex Borgia (Fig. 144) are depicted almost exactly like those, for instance, in Column 21 (Fig. 96 *supra*, p. 33), consisting of the four chief gifts—rubber ball, incense-vessel, sacrificial-blood dish, and animal's foot. In Codex Bolognæ (Fig. 145), instead of the animal's foot, a human arm seems to be shown, while in the picture in our manuscript one would rather conjecture a jaguar's foot.

Remarkable is the scene presented by the next following compartment, thirtieth of the whole series. In Codex Borgia (Fig. 146), on a kind of seat formed of dead men's bones, a priest (indicated as such by the red patch on his temple) is seen squatting, and on his shoulder bearing a cooking-pot from which protrude the limbs (arms and foot) of a man. The whole picture is encircled by flames. Probably it is here intended to represent one of those ancient priests called *quacuilli* (in the plural *quacuacuiltin*), who



Fig. 148. The Rain Snake.  
Codex Borgia 5.  
(= Kingsborough 34), below.



Fig. 149.  
The Rain Snake.  
Codex Bolognæ 5.



Fig. 150.  
Codex Borgia 4.  
(= Kingsborough 34), below.



Fig. 151.  
Codex Bolognæ 3,  
below.

are mentioned in connection with the sacrificing and incense-burning priests proper, and whose duty it was to perform all sorts of incidental services, such as dismembering and flaying the dead bodies, and also preparing the bodies of the victims for the cannibal feasts. Precisely the same scene seems to be presented by the picture in our manuscript, only the drawing is less correct and distinct. The clearly exhibited relation to cannibalism, for instance, would not be recognised from this picture in our manuscript. In this instance a divergence is shown by the representation in Codex Bologna (Fig. 147). Here is seen a water-vessel from which a figure emerges which has the facial painting and beard of *Quetzalcoatl*, but has fiery or flame-coloured hair and holds a flower in its hand. A cooking-pot is also shown, but here it is behind the figure, and out of it project flowers instead of the dismembered human remains. Obviously here is depicted the Priest-God instead of the priest. And the flowers in the cooking-pot must also probably have the same revolting significance as the contents of the cooking-pot in the Codex Borgia picture.

Clear and intelligible is the representation in the lower division of the fifth column, thirty-first of the whole series. In all three manuscripts is seen above the dark sky (the clouded sky), where in Codex Borgia (Fig. 148) a sacrificial stone knife is superadded. From this sky two snakes are suspended in Codex Borgia (Fig. 148), in the other two manuscripts one only. In Codex Borgia one of the snakes is painted yellow, the other red, that is to say, in the colours of fire. In our manuscript the snake is painted

differently, but still with the colours of fire, alternately black and yellow. Lastly in Codex Bologna (Fig. 140) it is diversely painted, and with open jaws from which it spews blood. Below, in all three manuscripts, is pictured a dish painted in the colours of the jewel (*chalehuittl*), and set with flowers. For the snakes painted in the colours of fire we should doubtless here supply 'Thunder-shower.' For it is clear from the jewelled dish that the subject is one of beneficent action. The West, the dark quarter, was regarded as the very region of abundant rain, as appears from the repeatedly mentioned Sheet 27 (= Kingsborough 12) of Codex Borgia. The two colours (yellow and red) of the Codex Borgia snakes, and the motley colouring of the snake in the Codex Bologna picture, recall the expression *tlacuilotlquinawitl*, the 'motley rain,' which occurs in the *Amulet of Chimalpain*. Here we read that the nation of the *Chalca Tlacochalco* was much dreaded, because *Tezotlipoca* was their god—*yayuca in catepan hucl ye motlamauchitque in ihuene moyonaloc in can iyoca inipan tlacuilotlquinawitl*—and still more were they afterwards feared in the time of famine, as over them alone fell the motley rain.

The next picture in the sixth column, thirty-second of the whole series, seems again to show nothing but offerings. The chief object appears to be a bundle of clothes or wraps, in which in Codex Borgia



Fig. 152. Fire Vessel.  
Codex Borgia 6  
(= Kingsborough 33),  
below.



Fig. 153.  
Fire Vessel.  
Codex Bologna 5, 6,  
below.



Fig. 154. Vessel.  
Codex Borgia 6  
(= Kingsborough 33),  
below.



Fig. 155.  
Vessel.  
Codex Bologna 6,  
below.



Fig. 156. *Mocuil cochtli*,  
God of Bevels.  
Codex Vaticanus 3773, Sheet 6  
(= Kingsborough 54), below.

(Fig. 150) are stuck a couple of agave-leaf spikes, while in Codex Bologna (Fig. 151) only a few flowers are pictured with it. Quite below is shown an incense-vessel with a rubber ball. Instead of the bundle of clothes or wraps our manuscript has a dish with a severed head, bone knife, and agave-leaf spike. Hence it seems not impossible that the bundle of wraps of the other two manuscripts concealed similar objects.

In the next following compartment, thirty-third of the whole series, in all three manuscripts is figured a *fire-vessel*, which in Codex Borgia (Fig. 152) is clearly drawn as a notched vessel of the type above shown at p. 30. That the tail of the snake—here presumably to be taken for a dragon—breaks through the foam shown above the brim, may be regarded as an indication that this foaming edge cannot be the brim of the vessel itself, but is intended to denote the contents of the vessel (the molten resinous mass). A similar inference seems to be suggested by the Codex Bologna picture (Fig. 153), where is distinctly seen a white, notched, over-foaming substance which is broken through by the dragon. Our manuscript shows a large rubber ball in the glowing fire, above which, however, is further pictured the dragon's tail.

In the next column, thirty-fourth of the whole series, we again come upon a picture which is a repetition of one of the lower rows of the first *Tonacuawitl* quarter, namely the one figured in the eleventh compartment (cf. Figs. 35, 36 *supra*, p. 19). For in Codex Borgia (Fig. 154) we see depicted

a naked figure and a snake, but below them nothing but a jewelled necklace. The picture in the eleventh compartment of the first *Tonalamatl* quarter I was fain to refer to the *Ciuateteotl*, that is to say, to the worship paid to them during the night at their shrines by the crossways. Here is evidently indicated one of the *Ciuateteotl* themselves, that is, the souls of those ghostly women dwelling in the West who had died in childbirth. For here in Codex Bologna (Fig. 156) is figured a woman on a seat formed of blood and hearts, and with a snake in her hand. The same is still more distinctly exhibited in the divergent representation which in our manuscript is shown in the lower division of Column 34 (Fig. 156). Farther on we shall have to discuss the series of the five *Ciuateteotl* which are depicted in Sheets 77-79 of our manuscript, and also in Codex Borgia. There they are attended by a series of five gods who show the design of a white hand about their mouth, and, as we shall see, were conceived as related to the *Ciuateteotl* in their nature and sphere of operations. Now here, in the lower division of Column 34 of our manuscript, we see the *Ciuateteotl* of the two other



Fig. 157.  
Tezcatlipoca, with  
the dart in his eye.  
Codex Borgia 6  
(= Kingsborough 33),  
below.



Fig. 158.  
Tezcatlipoca, with  
the dart in his eye.  
Codex Borgia 6,  
below.



Fig. 159. Codex Lead 2 (Kingsborough's notation).

manuscripts represented by the person at Fig. 156, a god with the sign of a hand on his mouth, a *Mucuil xochitl*; that is to say, the *Aziateteotl*, the god of sensuality, is here placed for the mythical beings who are in the strictest sense the representatives of womanhood.

In the next compartment also, thirty-fifth of the whole series, our manuscript is in a sense of deeper significance. Codex Borgia (Fig. 157) shows lying on a dish the head of *Tezcatlipoca*, with his facial painting (*istlan ballawa*), square nasal plate, smoking (or fiery) mirror at his temple, and the heron's forked feather tuft on his head. From above, from the dark sky, a dart descends on the eye of this *Tezcatlipoca* face, and at the point of contact a chain of *chalehuilitl* disks spurs out on one side, a jewelled band on the other. Similar elements are shown by the Codex Bologna picture (Fig. 158), although not so fully grouped together. But in our manuscript, where, however, the head lying on the dish does not show *Tezcatlipoca*'s distinctive marks, the eye is seen to be gouged out by the down-shooting dart. Eye-gouging was for the Mexicans a symbol of mortification, of blood-letting in honour of the gods. But *Tezcatlipoca*, whose eye is gouged out by a dart, had a special, perhaps an astronomic significance. On Sheet 3 (Kingsborough notation) of Codex Laud (Fig. 159), on the right side of the picture, we see a person with a dart in his eye, and below him

a *Tzacatlipocotl* who brings the offering of a rubber ball to the throat of a *cipaotli* or of the Earth. But by his side, to the left of the picture, beside bundles of firewood, are entered the dates

*Ce acatl*, 'one Reed,' the hieroglyph of the Morning Star.

*Macuil xochitl*, 'five Flower,' hieroglyph of the God of Revelry.

*Chicnei acatl*, 'eight Reed,' as would appear from Codex Bologna, a hieroglyph of the Moon Goddess.

*Chicmouei acatl*, 'nine Reed,' the hieroglyph of *Tlacotzotl*, the old Huastec Earth Goddess.

The next following column, thirty-sixth of the whole series, again exhibits in the lower division the eagle's foot, with the jaguar-skin pattern, the badge of *Chantico*, the old Fire Goddess of *Xochimilco*, and of the beings akin to her, whose acquaintance we have already made in the foregoing *Tonalamatl* quarter (Column 22). Only there the ball of the foot was upturned (cf. Figs. 98, 99 *supra*, p. 33), and the opposite upper end stood on a rubber ball. Here on the contrary (see Figs. 160, 161 and the picture in Column 33, Sheet 6 of the explanatory table) the ball of the foot is turned downwards, and above is fixed a stone knife (*tecpatl*), which in Codex Borgia (Fig. 160) is enclosed between a couple



Fig. 160. Eagle's Foot,  
Badge of the Goddess of  
*Xochimilco*.  
Codex Borgia 6  
(= Kingsborough 33), below.



Fig. 161. Eagle's Foot,  
Badge of the Goddess of  
*Xochimilco*.  
Codex Bologna 6,  
below.



Fig. 162.  
The Rain Snakes.  
Codex Borgia 6  
(= Kingsborough 33),  
below.



Fig. 163.  
The Rain Snakes.  
Codex Bologna 6.

of fasting strings, in Codex Bologna (Fig. 161) between sacrificial banners, in our manuscript between a bone dagger, an agave-leaf spike, and the shaft of a dart.

In the next, the thirty-seventh of the whole series, in Codex Bologna an irregularity has to be noticed. The picture belonging to this column has changed places with that of the following column. The picture itself (cf. Fig. 162, 163) is essentially merely a repetition of what we saw in the lower division of Column 31 (cf. Figs. 148, 149 *supra*, p. 45), and the meaning is certainly the same.

The last column but one, thirty-eighth of the whole series, again shows a burnt-offering. This—bundle of firewood and rubber ball in an incense-vessel—is clearly pictured, at least in Codex Borgia (Fig. 164) and in our manuscript. In Codex Bologna, where owing to a displacement the corresponding figure stands in the preceding column, we see instead of it (Fig. 165) a woman holding a rubber ball in her hand raised high up.

The concluding picture in Column 39 shows us a bound captive. In Codex Borgia (Fig. 166) and in our manuscript he is lashed to a tree. In Codex Bologna (Fig. 167) he appears to be united in one pack with a bundle of firewood.

If we now take a general survey of all the representations in the lower division of the *Tonalamatl* quarter, a number of them will be found to come undoubtedly within the range of the notions which were awakened in the Mexicans by the region corresponding to this *Tonalamatl* quarter, that is, the West.

and by the deity which, as representative of the West, is figured at the beginning of this *Tonalamatl* quarter. The Goddess of Heaven, the Lady of Procreation in the second column of this quarter (Figs. 142, 143), the *Cuatcoatl* of the eighth compartment (Figs. 154, 155), the eagle's foot (Figs. 160, 161), lastly the two pictures of the rain-snakes, all these are representations which we might have expected to meet in this *Tonalamatl* quarter. But the rest of the pictures are again perhaps for the most part general representations of offerings which the Mexicans were fond of repeating to excess with the pictures of their duties.

The upper divisions of these two sheets do not seem to present the same kind of parallel representations with the pictures in the lower row as we were able frequently to assume with the preceding



Fig. 164. *Itzabaliti*, Conformation.  
Codex Borgia 6  
(= Kingsborough 33), below.



Fig. 165.  
Codex Borgia 6,  
below.



Fig. 166.  
Codex Borgia 6  
(= Kingsborough 33), below.



Fig. 167.  
Codex Borgia 6,  
below.



Fig. 168. *Itzamani*,  
who has captured a prisoner.  
Codex Borgia 5  
(= Kingsborough 34), above.



Fig. 169. *Itzamani*,  
who has captured a prisoner.  
Codex Borgia 5,  
above.



Fig. 170. *Itzmitiquitilli*,  
Lightning.  
Codex Borgia 5  
(= Kingsborough 34), above.



Fig. 171. *Itzmitiquitilli*,  
Lightning.  
Codex Borgia 5,  
above.

*Tonalamatl* quarter. Thus the skeleton with the captive (Figs. 168, 169) which we found pictured in Codex Borgia and in Codex Bologna. in the first, the twenty-seventh column, in our manuscript (here shifted one place forward) in the second column of this quarter, is assuredly merely one of those pictures of general import, and can hardly be regarded as a parallel to the Earth Goddess shown in the lower division of this column, even though she is figured with a skull on her head in Codex Bologna and in our manuscript.

The second picture, in Column 28 of Codex Borgia, repeats the representation in the third compartment of the upper row of the first *Tonalamatl* quarter (Fig. 47 *supra*, p. 23), which we had there to regard as symbolising the god hurling his thunderbolts. Here also is seen (Fig. 170) the rent and burning

temple, and in the middle the hand that has grasped the hatchet. Only here we further see a heart spitted on the handle of the latter. The Codex Bologna picture (Fig. 171) likewise shows the hand holding a hatchet with a heart pierced by its handle. But instead of the temple we see a kind of pyramidal structure built up with the thorax of a skeleton and in front of it a sacrificial flag. In our manuscript, where the picture stands in the third column, a temple is again pictured; but here the hatchet is planted on the temple roof, while the hand grasps a severed head.

In the third column, twenty-ninth of the whole series, in Codex Bologna (Fig. 172) obviously the same person is again figured that we saw in the upper divisions of Columns 23 and 26 (cf. Figs. 130 and 140



Fig. 172. *Xochipilli*,  
the Flower God,  
Codex Bologna 5  
(= Kingsborough 34), above.



Fig. 173. *Xochipilli*,  
the Flower Goddess,  
Codex Bologna 5,  
above.



Fig. 174. *paxotl*, War,  
Codex Bologna 5  
(= Kingsborough 34),  
above.



Fig. 175. *paxotl*,  
War,  
Codex Bologna 5,  
above.



Fig. 176. The Descent into  
the Earth, Codex Bologna 5  
(= Kingsborough 34), above.



Fig. 177. The Descent  
into the Earth, Codex  
Bologna 5, above.



Fig. 178. The Descent into the  
Offerings, Codex Bologna 5,  
(= Kingsborough 34), above.



Fig. 179. The Descent on  
the Offerings, Codex  
Bologna 5, above.

*supra*, pp. 41 and 43), and whom I think I can identify with *Xochipilli*. Only here the figure holds in his hand the implements of mortification, bone dagger and agave-leaf spike, instead of a dart or a hatchet. And as in Columns 23 and 26, here also in Codex Bologna (Fig. 173) the representative person is pictured as a female. In our manuscript, too, where the corresponding figure stands in the next following fourth column, the figure is perfectly similar to those in the two other places.

In the fourth column, thirtieth of the whole series (in our manuscript in the next, the fifth column), there follows (Figs. 174, 175) a bundle of spears, emblem of war. In the Codex Bologna picture (Fig. 175) beside the spears is further shown a throwing-stick (*atlatl*), whose posterior end is fashioned to the form of a snake's head.

The two following pictures, those of the fifth (Figs. 176, 177) and sixth (Figs. 178, 179) columns, are almost exact repetitions of the groups represented in the upper divisions of the fifth and sixth columns of the preceding *Tonalamatl* quarter (cf. Figs. 119, 120, and Figs. 121 and 122 *supra*, p. 39).

The first picture (Figs. 176, 177) shows us the person tumbling into the jaws of Earth. We had to regard the corresponding picture of the preceding *Tonalamatl* quarter (Figs. 119, 120) as personifications of the North, which is the *mictlampa*, the realm of the dead. Here we shall be able to regard the same picture as a personification of the West. For the West is in fact the region where the Sun descends into the Earth, the region of the dead Sun. In the eighteenth column Codex Borgia (Fig. 119) had represented the Earth by a *cipactli's* jaws and a skull, into the open throat of which a man is tumbling. Here in the thirty-first column (Fig. 176) the Earth Goddess herself is figured, and indeed as a skeleton and clothed in an enagua, which shows as an ornament a footprint, symbol of the beaten path, of the Earth. The corresponding representation in our manuscript, which stands in the next following sixth compartment, diverges from that of the two other manuscripts. It does not show the Earth, the life-swallowing monster, but a dead (or sleeping?) person in his chair. But obviously the fundamental notion is here the same.



Fig. 180, Codex Borgia 6  
(= Kingsborough 33),  
above.



Fig. 181,  
Codex Borgia 5, 8,  
above.



Fig. 182, Xochipilli,  
the Flower God,  
Codex Borgia 6  
(= Kingsborough 33), above.



Fig. 183, Xochipilli,  
the Flower God,  
Codex Borgia 6,  
above.

The other picture, in Column 32 (Figs. 178, 179), again represents the solar bird descending on the sacrificial-blood dish, which we have already repeatedly met amongst the pictures of this upper row.

The next following picture, in Column 33, somewhat recalls that figured in the lower division of Column 35 (of Figs. 157, 158 *supra*, p. 47). Here also we see in Codex Borgia (Fig. 180) a *Tzatzalipuca* head lying on a mountain, and beside it a sacrificial flag. But here no dart shoots from above into the eye, but on the upper margin of the compartment the sun is figured, and from it, as we have already seen in several other divisions of these series, there flows down a copious stream of blood in which is seen a heart spitted on a dart. The Codex Bolognæ picture (Fig. 181) differs only to the extent that here the *Tzatzalipuca* head is pictured without any substructure. In our manuscript, where we have to look for the corresponding picture a compartment farther on, the *Tzatzalipuca* head apparently rests on a mat platted with reeds and studded with downy feather balls.

In the next compartment, thirty-fourth of the whole series, in the upper divisions of this *Tonalamatl* quarter, a figure is depicted resembling the *Xochipilli* of the upper divisions of Columns 23 and 26 (Figs. 130, 140 *supra*, pp. 41 and 43). In the Codex Borgia picture (Fig. 182) here also is seen pictured below the god an incense-vessel of the kind described at p. 30 *supra*. In Codex Bolognæ, which in the other places figured a female form instead of this god, a male deity (Fig. 183) is likewise represented. Our

manuscript pictures (in the next following ninth compartment) a conventional figure similar to that of the other places where we met this god.

In the next following, the thirty-fifth column, an analogy presents itself at least outwardly, and at least in Codax Bologna, between the upper and lower divisions. In the lower we met the picture which is reproduced at Fig. 157 *supra*, p. 47. Fig. 184 shows us the one represented in the upper division of the column, the dark sky set with eyes, that is, stars, or else possibly only emitting light in general. Below a hand which grasps spear, sacrificial flag, and agave-leaf spike.



Fig. 184.  
The Descent of War?  
Codex Bologna 6  
(= Kingsborough 33), above.



Fig. 185.  
The Descent of War  
Codex Bologna 6,  
above.



Fig. 186. *Xochipilli*,  
the Flower God.  
Codex Bologna 6  
(= Kingsborough 33), above.



Fig. 187. *Xochipilli*,  
the Flower God.  
Codex Bologna 6,  
above.



Fig. 188. *Amaztli*,  
who has captured a prisoner.  
Codex Bologna 6  
(= Kingsborough 33), above.



Fig. 189. *Amaztli*,  
who has captured a prisoner.  
Codex Bologna 6,  
above.



Fig. 190.  
Codex Bologna 6  
(= Kingsborough 33),  
above.



Fig. 191.  
Codex Bologna 6,  
above.

Flowers which hang down from the upper and lower ends of the arm, and from the specified objects, are doubtless again meant for blood. For once the Codex Bologna picture (Fig. 185) seems here to be the more significant. On the upper margin of the compartment we see a sky which, too, is set with eyes, that is, stars, and moreover shows on its surface a large stone knife and a large eye, which illustrate the baneful and the illuminating power of the heavenly light, and in substance also constitute the elements of the Mexican solar picture. Below is seen a hand grasping a spear, at which blood seems again indicated by a flower. But, moreover, from this hand beside a sacrificial cord are suspended



a stream of water and a stream of yellow feathers, and this is nothing else but the hieroglyphic reproduction of the phrase *atl-tlaxinolli*, 'Water and Fire,' the symbolic expression for war.

On the other hand far less clear is the corresponding representation in our manuscript (in the following, the tenth compartment). We see a temple, and we see an arm, its hand apparently holding a shaft, bone dagger, and agave-leaf spike.

In the nineteenth column, thirty-sixth of the whole series, the god *Xochipilli* appears to be figured for the third time in this *Tonalamatl* quarter. But he is here accompanied by a bird which in Codex Borgia (Fig. 186) presents the general appearance of a quetzal bird with a bill like that of a humming-bird; in Codex Bologna (Fig. 187) it is designed as a crested bird and with parrot-like beak. One sees how much freedom these ancient artists enjoyed in their reproductions. In our manuscript (in the next following compartment) is shown the usual seated figure of *Xochipilli*, here, too, with a bird on his head which has a feather-hood similar to that with which the birds descending on the offerings are depicted in this manuscript.

The next following picture (cf. Figs. 188, 189, and the upper division of Column 38 in our manuscript) is again the so often figured skeleton holding a captive.

In the last column but one, thirty-eighth of the whole series, we see in Codex Borgia (Fig. 190) a hand grasping a spear, a sacrificial knife, and an agave-leaf spike, while below in a green ball (a *pacatapyalli*) are stuck four agave-leaf spikes, each with a flower on top, that is, the symbol of blood which was drawn during the penitential exercises and usually deposited on these cut agave leaves.

The corresponding picture in Codex Bologna (Fig. 191) shows some deviation. A hand holds a hatchet under which hangs a sacrificial cord, and below two sacrificial flags are inserted in a dish or a substructure. In the corresponding division (the last) our manuscript shows a hand grasping the spear, agave-leaf spike, and sacrificial flag, and below is seen a kind of grass or reed matting like that on which the *Tzotzilpouca* bowl was exhibited five compartments farther back.

In the last, the thirty-ninth column, we see in Codex Borgia (Fig. 192) a red arara bird (*oto*) on a jewel-box (?), out of which projects a chain of *chalchihuitl* disks ending in a flower. On the upper margin of the compartment is pictured a stream of blood and in it a heart pierced by a dart. Codex Bologna also (Fig. 193) depicts a bird, but perched on a jewelled dish, while a jewelled string apparently projects from the mouth of the bird. Blood flows in a broad stream athwart over the whole sheet. In our manuscript the corresponding picture has been shifted to the first compartment of the next following *Tonalamatl* quarter, Sheet 7, upper row (Fig. 194). Here no bird is figured, but we see a jewel-box (?) similar to that of the Codex Borgia picture. We see a stream of blood in which a heart pierced by a dart is again depicted, and which, as we saw in the other divisions, begins in a solar picture forming the upper border of the compartment.

Thus, in this third quarter more than in the other divisions of the *Tonalamatl*, the representations in the upper compartments appear to be in substance merely of a general import, with almost wearying iteration exhibiting objects exclusively associated with sacrifice. An exception may, however, be made for the scene of the all-devouring earth pictured in the fifth compartment, and for the various *Xochipilli* figures. And since these two representations are also met in the preceding *Tonalamatl* quarter, a sufficient explanation may be seen in the fact that, strictly speaking, both the North and the West were by the Mexicans regarded as the realm of Earth.

As I have above set forth, the two figures of the first column, that of the under and that of the upper division, seem to me determinant for the fourth *Tonalamatl* quarter, the region of the South. These are, in the lower row the symbolic figure shown at Figs. 14-16 (see p. 13 *supra*), which personifies death, especially sacrificial death; in the upper division the Figs. 10-13 (see p. 11 *supra*), the Sun God descending from on high, hurling his weapons from above.

In the lower row the symbolic figure of the sacrificial death is followed in the thirty-first column by a representation of *cannibalism*, which with the Mexicans went hand-in-hand with human sacrifice.



Fig. 192. *aié*, the Red Gossamer.  
Codex Borgia 6 (= Kingsborough 33), above.



Fig. 193.  
Codex Borgia 6, above.



Fig. 194. *tsantáui*, the Sun.  
Codex Vaticanus 3773, Sheet 7, above.



Fig. 195. *tsantláuili*, the Cooking of the Human  
Flesh and Maize Stew.  
Codex Borgia 7 (= Kingsborough 34), below.



Fig. 196. *tsantláuili*, the Cooking of  
the Human Flesh and Maize Stew.  
Codex Borgia 7, below.



Fig. 197. The Eagle's Foot of the Goddess  
Chantico, means the Warrior's Death.  
Codex Borgia 7  
(= Kingsborough 34), below.



Fig. 198. The Heart-devouring Eagle,  
i.e. the Sun.  
Codex Borgia 7, below.



Fig. 199. *tsantláuili-otéuili ynoméyotéuili*,  
the Warrior's Death, Sacrificial Death  
Codex Vaticanus 3773, Sheet 7  
(= Kingsborough 32), below.

The fleshy parts of the immolated captives—the thigh was especially esteemed, as in it lay the strength of the warrior—were cooked with whole maize corns in the city of Mexico. And to this *tsantláuili*,

'human-flesh-maize,' were invited the friends and relatives of the man who had taken the captive and presented him for the sacrifice, together with the tribal chiefs and other people of rank. The picture in the forty-first column shows us the cooking-pot. The round bottom stands on skulls which serve as hearth-stones, and from under it the flames blaze up. But in the pot are seen the limbs of the victim cooking, in Codex Borgia (Fig. 195) and Bologna (Fig. 196) head and arms, in our manuscript arm and leg. In the Codex Bologna picture (Fig. 196) the face shows the special features of the god *Macuilxochitl*.

In the forty-second column Codex Borgia (Fig. 197) has again the eagle's foot with the skin spotted like that of a jaguar, the badge of the goddess *Chantico*, which we have already met twice higher up, both in the second and the third *Tzotzamatl* quarter (cf. Figs. 98, 99 *supra*, p. 33, and Figs. 160, 161 *supra*, p. 48). But it stands here on a sacrificial-blood dish, which is decorated with flags and from which blood runs down. And that here this distinctive mark of *Chantico* means something special and different is made clear by the corresponding pictures in the two other manuscripts. For Codex Bologna (Fig. 198) shows us instead of the eagle's foot the eagle himself, who is drinking the blood in the dish, and with it the heart of the victim. And in our manuscript (Fig. 199) we see an eagle's foot and a jaguar's foot on the dish which is filled with blood, and from which an eye shoots up, symbol



Fig. 200. *mictlan*, Land of the Dead. Codex Borgia 7 (= Kingsborough 31), below.



Fig. 201. *mictlan*, Land of the Dead. Codex Bologna 7, below.



Fig. 202. *teocatl*, the Owl. Codex Borgia 7 (= Kingsborough 31), below.



Fig. 203. *teocatl*, the Owl. Codex Bologna 7, below.

of sacrifice. Hence here is meant the *quauhtli ocatl*, the 'Eagle-Jaguar,' that is, the warrior, and the warrior's death, that is, sacrificial death. And here Codex Borgia has simply given the eagle's foot alone of the goddess *Chantico*, because these goddesses of the *Chinampanca* nation, the *Chantico* of Xochimilco and the *Cinacouatl* of Colhuacan, who jointly wear the eagle's foot as their device, were specially looked on as goddesses of war and of warriors.

Then the next picture, in Column 43, shows simply emblems of death: skulls, cross-bones, rent heart, with which in Codex Borgia (Fig. 200) gouged eyes are further associated, as symbol of sacrifice. In our manuscript these gruesome emblems are seen shut up in an enclosure, which naturally means the grave. In Codex Bologna (Fig. 201) they stand out from a night sky.

Equally clear is the picture of the following, the forty-fourth column. It is the bird of death, the owl (*teocatl*), in all three manuscripts (Figs. 202, 203) somewhat similarly pictured, and, as always, with full face.

But the special significance of the next following picture is more difficult to grasp. And whereas elsewhere Codex Borgia and Codex Bologna generally agreed pretty closely, while ours on the contrary presented frequent discrepancies, in the two here following pictures our manuscript and Codex Bologna show almost complete harmony, but Codex Bologna exhibits marked and remarkable differences.

In the forty-fifth column our manuscript shows in the lower division a blue dish which is covered by another painted in the colours of the jewel (*chalehuicatl*). From the upturned bottom of the latter

three flowers, and behind them a flowering tree, shoot upwards. Precisely the same elements are likewise contained in the Codex Borgia picture (Fig. 204). The lower edge of this compartment is certainly somewhat damaged by friction. But from what remains we can still see that here also a dish was figured below painted a blue colour. The second dish upon top of it and painted in the colours of the *chalchihuitl* is distinctly seen, as is also the large maize plant which shoots high up above the upturned bottom of the latter. The dish painted in the colours of the *chalchihuitl* seems in the manuscripts of this group to stand generally for the sacrificial-blood dish. Hence I would explain (hypothetically) the *chalchihuitl* dish turned down on the blue dish as the outpouring of the sacrificial blood on the earth, and its fertilisation by the blood which makes the maize plants shoot up vigorously. But how shall we now harmonise with this picture and this interpretation what Codex Bologna shows us in the forty-fifth column? Above is seen a flower (Fig. 205), from which jewelled straps hang out; under it the head of a rabbit and a figure which keeps its white colour, but which I cannot at present venture to explain; lastly, below all a mask enclosed within a *chalchihuitl* disk. Here the flower may again signify blood, the rabbit the Earth, but as to the other two forms I must confess my helplessness. I leave it to the reader himself to discover an explanation of the picture here reproduced.



Fig. 204. The Fertilizing of the Earth with Blood. Codex Borgia T (= Kingsborough 32), below.



Fig. 205. Codex Bologna 7, below.



Fig. 206. *Matlalilli*, ('suffragation). Codex Borgia 5 (= Kingsborough 31), below.



Fig. 207. Codex Bologna 7, A, below.

In the next following, the forty-sixth column, Codex Borgia (Fig. 206) shows us a vessel painted a black colour, its rim raised on one side. In it are a burnt-offering—two bundles of firewood and a rubber ball. But, moreover, a bunch of *matlalilli* grass shoots high above the raised side of the vessel. In our manuscript corresponding to this is seen a dish above the upper brim of which a row of alternating yellow and black balls is doubtless meant for coals or glowing embers. But on this here we have no firewood, but a bundle of *matlalilli* grass. Lastly, above the whole a rubber ball, beside which the flames shoot upwards. One sees at once that these are the same elements with the same fundamental notion as in the Codex Borgia picture.

The scene in Codex Bologna is different (Fig. 207). Here we see a human figure in one hand holding a sacrificial knife, with the other raising a flower on high. This might again no doubt signify the heart of the victim which is lifted up to the Sun, presented to the Sun. Lastly, behind the head of the figure is shown a little bundle of fuel. In all this we may see a middle term between this conception and the pictures shown in this column of Codex Borgia and our manuscript.

In the forty-seventh column we have before us a picture almost like that already met in one of the upper divisions of the second *Tonalamall* quarter. It is the marine snail's shell (*tecciztli*) with the living being either shut up in it, or emerging from it. In the latter our manuscript certainly shows just barely a hand which grasps something scarcely to be determined—a sacrificial flag or a tuft of

*malinalli* grass! In the Codex Borgia picture (Fig. 208) at the opening of the snail's shell we see a form similar to that depicted in the previous place (cf. Fig. 125 *supra*, p. 40). Only here the figure is distinguished by a long necklace of *chalchicuiltl* disks ending in a flower, and holds in its hand two spears and a throwing-stick instead of the blood-stained agave-leaf spike. The second *Tonalamatl* quarter, to which Fig. 125 belongs, answers to the quarter of the North, that is, the region of drought. Hence I had advanced the conjecture that there the picture of the snail might have relation to the *skuffing up* of the waters. The conjecture seems to me confirmed by the picture which is here given by Codex Bologna in Column 47 of the fourth *Tonalamatl* quarter. For this picture shows at the entrance of the snail's house, or coming out of it, the Rain God *Tlaloc*, holding lightning in both hands.

The next following, forty-eighth, column again contains more offerings. Codex Borgia (Fig. 210) pictures a sacrificial-blood dish, a wooden vessel with an animal's foot, and an incense-vessel of the repeatedly described form. The same three objects are also shown in this compartment of our manuscript. Here the sacrificial-blood dish, whose contents are indicated by flowers in the Codex Borgia picture, is more distinctly characterised by three eyes shooting out of it. In our manuscript the incense-



Fig. 208. The God concealed in the Shell. Codex Borgia B (= Kingsborough 21), below.



Fig. 209. The Rain God shut up in the Shell. Codex Bologna A, below.



Fig. 210. Offerings. Codex Borgia B (= Kingsborough 21), below.



Fig. 211. Offerings. Codex Bologna B, below.

vessel stands uppermost, and has the same typical form of the Codex Borgia vessel; but here in our manuscript there appears to be shown on it a thick resinous mass, whose fragrant properties are indicated by two flowers. The Codex Bologna picture (Fig. 211) has further a fourth offering, a burning rubber ball.

The next column, the forty-ninth of the whole series, again presents a somewhat remarkable picture. In all three manuscripts is seen a severed human leg, which in Codex Borgia (Fig. 212) is striped white and red, hence shows the body colour of *Tlaxiculpanteutli*, deity of the Morning Star, and of *Micronatl*, God of the North and of the Hunt, but in Codex Bologna (Fig. 213) is black, like the body of *Tzestlipoca*, and in our manuscript (Fig. 214) simply yellow, and decorated with a bell-studded wrap below the knee. In Codex Borgia (Fig. 212) besides the leg a head is also given, and in all three manuscripts the leg is set with flowers, which are again no doubt meant to indicate blood. But in Codex Borgia (Fig. 212) this leg rests on a reptile's throat opening downwards, such as the one we have met in one of the lower divisions of the first *Tonalamatl* quarter as indication of a cave (cf. Fig. 31 *supra*, p. 17). And as there, here also a bone dagger and an agave-leaf spike are stuck on the upper bend. As we there found in the first *Tonalamatl* quarter the Codex Borgia cave replaced in Codex Bologna by a picture of *Tzestlipoca*, God of Caves (cf. Fig. 32 *supra*, p. 17), so here, in Column 49 of Codex Bologna (Fig. 213) a jaguar seems apparently to be introduced to represent the cave. For the jaguar is the very form in which the specified God of Caves is several times depicted in the pictorial writings.

Lastly, in our manuscript (Fig. 214) under the human foot is pictured a somewhat peculiar object, which combines a snake's eye with the spotted pattern of the jaguar skin, is rolled up as in a bundle.



Fig. 212. *estétepes*, the God on the Mountain Cave. Codex Borgia 8 (= Kingsborough 31), below.



Fig. 213. Codex Borgia 8, below.



Fig. 214. *estétepes*, the God on the Mountain Cava. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Sheet 8 (= Kingsborough 56), below.



Fig. 215. *Tontemac*, the Man tumbling downwards. Codex Borgia 8 (= Kingsborough 31), below.



Fig. 216. *Tontemac*, the Man tumbling downwards. Codex Borgia 8, below.



Fig. 217. *nezelitli*, the Sacrifice of One's Own Blood. Codex Borgia 8 (= Kingsborough 31), below.



Fig. 218. *nezelitli*, the Sacrifice of One's Own Blood. Codex Borgia 8, below.



Fig. 219. *nezelitli*, the Sacrifice of One's Own Blood. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Sheet 8 (= Kingsborough 56), below.

but on the outside shows the garbled bosses of the conventional Mexican drawings of mountains, and without doubt is intended to indicate a cave.

The next following picture in Column 50 is simpler. This is the *Tontemac* who tumbles head foremost down, and symbolises the downward direction. The dark pit into which he tumbles is clearly exhibited in Codex Borgia (Fig. 215), and also in our manuscript. In Codex Borgia the tumbling person

is simply indicated as a priest, with the rod patch on his temple; in Codex Bologna (Fig. 216) and in our manuscript as a victim, since both have their eye gouged out.

The last compartment but one, the fifty-first, is in our manuscript drawn with exceptional clearness. We see (Fig. 219) a human ear with long hatchet-shaped (stone) plug. The upper rim is gashed and blood runs down (from the wound). Two bone daggers, where the flowers again indicate blood, show that this picture is meant to illustrate the usual way of blood-letting in honour of the god.

The yellow bundle, which is further pictured below, perhaps denotes the stalks which were drawn through the pierced tongue in order to increase the pain, that is, the merit (of the act). In the



Fig. 220. *Hatlatzli*, Conflagration.  
Codex Borgia 6  
(= Kingsborough 31), below.



Fig. 221.  
Codex Borgia 5,  
below.



Fig. 222. *seltatzli*, Tumbling into the Fire.  
Codex Vaticanus 3773, Sheet 8  
(= Kingsborough 56), below.



Fig. 223. *Xochipilli*, the  
Flower God.  
Codex Borgia 7  
(= Kingsborough 32), above.



Fig. 224. *Xochiquetzal*, the  
Flower Goddess.  
Codex Borgia 7,  
above.



Fig. 225. The Sun and War.  
Codex Borgia 7  
(= Kingsborough 32),  
above.



Fig. 226.  
The Sun and War.  
Codex Borgia 7,  
above.

corresponding picture of Codex Borgia (Fig. 217) we are struck above all by the broad streaming blood which at the ends is everywhere studded with flowers. From it a large black obsidian sacrificial knife stands out on one side, while on the other we recognise a bone dagger and an agave-leaf spike. Here, too, a human ear with ear-plug and gashed upper rim is drawn in the middle of the picture. But it is somewhat distorted, and by the insertion of an eye transformed to a kind of face. In Codex Bologna the corresponding compartment is a little damaged by friction; but here also (Fig. 218) we recognise the large stream of blood, as well as bone dagger and agave-leaf spike. But a kind of skull with the long teeth characteristic of *Tlaloc* seems to have been depicted in the middle.

In the last, the fifty-second, compartment on a carved wooden royal throne is seen figured a

funeral-pile, a bundle of firewood, and rubber ball with bone dagger and agave-leaf spike again inserted in it. Codex Bologna (Fig. 221) appears to have had a picture of the god *Macuilzochitl*, who was here perhaps to be taken for the fire-driller. In our manuscript (Fig. 222) is seen, as a variant, a black vessel and in it a burning pile on to which, or into which, a dead body tumbles head over heels.

Thus, with few exceptions, the various pictures of this lower row of the fourth *Tonalamattl* quarter have relation to death, and especially to sacrificial death. In this division it is made specially clear that here the pictures have no significance individually, but that they are collectively meant to give expression to what was thought to be appropriate to the nature of this *Tonalamattl* quarter, that is, to the region of the heavens represented by it.

In the upper division of this fourth *Tonalamattl* quarter very considerable are the deviations in the arrangement—the irregularity presented by our manuscript compared with the arrangement of the two other manuscripts.

In Codex Borgia the picture of the Sun God tumbling down from on high (Fig. 10 *supra*, p. 11), which stands at the beginning of the upper row of this *Tonalamattl* quarter, is again followed by a



Fig. 227. *temani*, who has made a capture. Codex Borgia 7 (= Kingsborough 32), above.



Fig. 228. *temani*, who has made a capture. Codex Bologna 7, above.



Fig. 228a. *Macuilzochitl*, God of Revelry. Codex Borgia 7 (= Kingsborough 32), above.



Fig. 229. *Xochiquetzal*, Goddess of Flowers. Codex Bologna 7, above.

*Xochipilli*'s figure (Fig. 223) similar to the one we have already repeatedly met in the upper divisions of these sheets. In front of the god are pictured a jewelled disk, below him an incense-vessel, and above a jewelled dish. In Codex Bologna (Fig. 224) the god seems to be again replaced by *Xochiquetzal*. In our manuscript we have to look for the corresponding figure in the third compartment of this quarter, the forty-second of the whole series. It likewise resembles the pictures of this god which we met in the previous *Tonalamattl* quarters. Before him an arrow-head is pictured, as with the *Xochipilli* in the upper division of Column 30.

In the next following column, forty-second of the whole series, in Codex Borgia (Fig. 225) and in the Bolognese manuscript (Fig. 226) on the upper margin of the compartment is pictured a sun, beside which we see in Codex Borgia two full eyes such as we met in Codex Borgia beside the Sun God (cf. Fig. 10 *supra*, p. 11). Below are shown an arm and a hand, which in Codex Borgia holds a bundle of spears, in the Bolognese manuscript a spear and an agave-leaf spike. Lastly, quite below in Codex Borgia is seen a green mass wrapped in a strip of cloth and stuck with a sacrificial knife (*terpatl*) and a sacrificial flag (*omapanitl*). In Codex Bologna (Fig. 226) this bundle looks almost like the lower part of a fire-drill, and is set with downy feather balls.

Now here our manuscript shows this irregularity, that after the above-described *Xochipilli* figure yet another *Xochipilli* figure is inserted in Column 43, so that the representation corresponding



to Figs. 225 and 226 does not follow till we get to Column 44. In other respects the elements of this representation are similar to those of Figs. 225 and 226. Here, quite below, is figured an upright bundle from which flames shoot up.

In the next following, forty-third, column we again see in Codex Borgia (Fig. 227) and in Codex Bologna (Fig. 228) a skeleton with a captive. The same is shown by our manuscript too; only the corresponding figure has been shifted two compartments forward, to the forty-fifth column, in con-



Fig. 230. *tsawtquiwitli*, Lightning.  
Codex Borgia 7  
(= Kingsborough 32),  
above.



Fig. 231. *tsawtquiwitli*,  
Lightning.  
Codex Bologna 7,  
above.



Fig. 232.  
Codex Vaticanus 3772,  
Sheet 8  
(= Kingsborough 30).



Fig. 233.  
*tsawtli*, War.  
Codex Borgia 8  
(= Kingsborough 31),  
above.



Fig. 234.  
*tsawtli*, War.  
Codex Bologna 7, 8,  
above.



Fig. 235. *tsawtli*, Fire.  
Codex Borgia 8  
(= Kingsborough 31),  
above.



Fig. 236. *tsawtli*, Fire.  
Codex Bologna 8,  
above.



Fig. 237. *Xocōpilli*, the  
Flower God. Codex Borgia 8  
(= Kingsborough 31),  
above.



Fig. 238. *Xocōquetzal*, the  
Flower God.  
Codex Bologna 8, above.

sequence of the just-mentioned insertion, and of the general dislocation proved to have taken place in the upper division of our manuscript from the first sheet forward.

The upper division of Column 44 shows us in Codex Borgia (Fig. 228) the familiar figure of the god with the white design of a hand about his mouth, that is, *Macuiltecochitl*, God of Revelry and of Lust, a picture which completely agrees with the other details in the equipment of the figure; for instance, with the *Macuiltecochitl* picture on Sheet 15 (=Kingsborough 24) of Codex Borgia (cf. Fig. 437 *infra*). In this compartment Codex Bologna has a figure (Fig. 229) which is exactly like those which this manuscript gives in the places where Codex Borgia pictures a *Xocōpilli*. For me this place is accordingly a proof that I was right in explaining these figures as *Xocōpilli*. For *Macuiltecochitl* and *Xocōpilli* are two intimately related forms, even though special functions be ascribed

to them, and although they are kept sharply apart in the more carefully executed manuscripts. In our manuscript the corresponding picture stands in Column 46. This picture likewise resembles those of *Xochipilli* which we have already met so frequently in the upper divisions of this section of the manuscripts.

In the next, the forty-fifth, column Codex Borgia shows us a picture which we have likewise met at least once, in slightly varied form, in the upper row of all the other *Tonalamatl* quarters. It is the rent and burning temple (Fig. 230). But here a form descends in it, which is doubtless meant for a priest of the Rain God, who after all is the Thunder God. The figure has its arms crossed on its breast in a way which amongst the Indians of Central America is still the attitude of subjection assumed by the servant in the presence of his master. On its head it wears the notched crown of *Tlaloc*, but the hair is platted in a remarkable long tress of a green and white colour, whose lower end turns sharply upwards, evidently owing to the sudden backward movement in which the figure is conceived (by the artist). In the somewhat divergent design of Codex Bologna (Fig. 231) both halves of the rent temple are still quite distinctly perceptible. In our manuscript the corre-



Fig. 230. *temani*, who has taken a captive.  
Codex Borgia 8  
(= Kingsborough 31), above.



Fig. 240. *temani*, who has taken a captive.  
Codex Bologna 8,  
above.



Fig. 241. *Xochipilli*, the Flower God.  
Codex Borgia 8  
(= Kingsborough 31), above.



Fig. 242. *Xochiquimala*, the Flower Goddess.  
Codex Bologna 8,  
above.

sponding picture is to be looked for in Column 47 (Fig. 232). We see a temple in which, in the same submissive attitude, is a figure clothed in a blue robe, and also wearing a head adornment like that met with *Tlaloc*. A fire ascends from the mouth or the nose of the figure, or else from the temple roof.

In all three manuscripts (Figs. 233, 234 and in our manuscript the upper division of Column 48) this picture is followed by the bundle of spears, emblem of war, which we have likewise repeatedly met in the upper divisions.

Of rather frequent occurrence is also the next picture in Column 47 (Figs. 235, 236), and in our manuscript in Column 49. It is the burning temple with collapsing roof, which, however, here perhaps denotes conquest, as in the historical part of Codex Mendoza. The figure seen in the temple is in Codex Borgia almost exactly like the one in the other place where this burning temple is figured. In Codex Bologna (Fig. 236) the figure has an ear-plug of unspun cotton, which is the distinctive mark of the old Huastec Earth Goddess, but also occurs with the Death God. And while we find the flames denoted by a deer's head in the other Codex Bologna pictures (of. Figs. 28 and 111 *supra*, pp. 17 and 37), here the flame (*tleroaktli*) seems to be indicated by a flower (*xochitl*).

The next following picture, in Codex Borgia (Fig. 237) and Codex Bologna (Fig. 238) in the forty-

eighth column, in our manuscript in the fiftieth, again represents the god *Xochipilli*, or (in Codex Bologna) the goddess *Xochiquetzal*. In Codex Borgia below it is given a blue dish with an offering (animal's foot), above a footprint directed backwards. This may mean that he is descending for the sacrifice. In our manuscript we see an arrow-head pictured before the god, as in Column 42.

The pictures which now follow in Codex Borgia and in Codex Bologna in Columns 49 and 50 (Figs. 239, 240, and Figs. 241, 242) are missing in our manuscript. And in fact these two pictures show us familiar and often repeated types. The first (Figs. 239, 240) is the familiar figure of a skeleton with its captive; the second (Figs. 241, 242) the picture of *Xochipilli*, or else *Xochiquetzal*, which we thus meet for the third time in this *Tonalamatl* quarter.



Fig. 212. *Itolaliltl*, Conflagration.  
Codex Borgia 8  
(= Kingsborough 31), above.



Fig. 244. *Olmeca*, the  
Rubber Place.  
Codex Bologna 8, above.



Fig. 245. *atlan calaquiltli*, the Descent  
into the Water. Udena Vaticanus 3773,  
Sheet 8 (= Kingsborough 50), above.



Fig. 246. The Descent on the Offering.  
Codex Borgia 8  
(= Kingsborough 31), above.



Fig. 247. The Descent on the  
Offering.  
Codex Bologna 8, above.



Fig. 248. The Descent on the Offering.  
Codex Vaticanus 3773, Sheet 8  
(= Kingsborough 50), above.

From this omission in our manuscript all three manuscripts should, strictly speaking, again coincide from the next, the fifty-first, column forward. And in fact Codex Borgia (Fig. 243) and Codex Bologna (Fig. 244) apparently do so, since both show a temple. In Codex Borgia (Fig. 243) within it is seen a fire-vessel surrounded by firewood with a rubber ball on top. In Codex Bologna (Fig. 244) only a flower is to be seen, perhaps an emblem of sacrifice; but the ridge of the roof is surmounted by a rubber ball painted, as usual, in two colours. In this compartment our manuscript has the remarkably divergent representation (Fig. 245) of a man plunging head foremost into a water-vessel. One might feel inclined to conjecture that Fig. 243 represented the *Tlatlayans*, the place of conflagration; Fig. 244 (the house with the rubber ball on the ridge) the *Olmeca*, the land of the *Olmeccs*, the Atlantic Coast; and Fig. 245 the *atlan calaquiltli*, the entering the water, the disappearing in the water, hence that all three representations were intended to

symbolise the death of the god, the death of *Quetzalcoatl*. A connecting line of thought would thus be presented between these three representations, which seem otherwise so completely incoherent.

Lastly, the concluding, the fifty-second, column, effects a complete and real concordance between the three manuscripts, since all three show the temple (cf. Figs. 246-248) with the dish of offerings, and the Sun Bird descending on it.

Speaking generally, we see that a few only of these representations in the upper row of the fourth *Tonalamatl* quarter possess a specific character. The solar picture in the third compartment, with the handle of spears, emblem of war, and the sacrificial implements, symbol of the warrior's death, may regard as a fuller exposition of the nature of the ruling deity of this quarter. Since this *Tonalamatl* quarter belongs to the South, it must seem appropriate for *Xochipilli* to be here in one instance replaced by *Macuiltecoatl*, since this god is after all the special representative of the quarter of the South. In the same sense may also be explained the exceptionally frequent appearance of the god *Xochipilli* himself in this very *Tonalamatl* quarter. But in other respects the majority of the representations seems merely to give expression in a general way to the notion of sacrificial dealings and of what was associated therewith.

All the rows of these pictures which accompany above and below the *Tonalamatl* disposed in columns of five members will become intelligible, if we keep steadily in view that the draughtsman had placed before him the special task of illustrating in six-and-twenty several pictures what in the mind of this people constituted the essence of the four great divisions of the *Tonalamatl*. It was assuredly a difficult matter to find six-and-twenty different variations of the same underlying thought. And sooth to say the draughtsman, or whoever first sketched these rows, has had a measure of success only in a few of them. With the rest he eked the subject out by superadding representations of a general nature. He had here mainly to deal with divine and hallowed things, with powers dwelling in the four quarters of the heavens, whence they controlled human destinies in the most all-embracing way, and had accordingly to be gained over, and were sought to be gained over, especially by daily repeated offerings of one's own body, but also by costly gifts, by the blood and hearts of the captured, so far as could be afforded by private means or by the resources of the commonwealth. Hence it was but natural for the artist to hit upon the idea of giving expression to those notions also in the series of pictures with which the space had to be filled up. We accordingly see the sacrificial-blood dishes realistically or symbolically depicted; we see dishes with food offerings thrown in, jars and bowls of pulque, burnt-offerings, incense-pans, agave-leaf spikes, and more of suchlike things; in fact, padding.

It is not, however, very easy to say, as regards the representations in the eight first sheets of the Codex Borgia group of manuscripts, what was merely meant to denote sacrificial dealings in general, and what served to illustrate specific notions. Our knowledge of the range of thought of those people is after all very defective. As representations of a general nature I would above all look upon the frequently recurring exhibition of the four offerings which in Codex Borgia consist somewhat normally of a dish with an animal's leg, the sacrificial-blood dish, a rubber ball, and the incense-burner (cf. Figs. 29, 75, 92, 96, 144, 210). Further, the skeleton, which brings along a captive (Figs. 52, 62, 113, 114, 168, 169, 188, 189, 227, 228, 239, 240). Perhaps also the picture of the burning temple, which may possibly be thought of as a symbol of fire only in quite a general way. Then the solar bird that swoops down on the sacrificial-blood dish (Figs. 45, 46, 53, 60, 61, 121, 122, 178, 179, 246, 247, 248). And perhaps also the *Xochipilli* pictures, which are possibly also similarly intended to illustrate the descent on the offerings. At least this is pointed at by the footstep which is seen in one of these pictures (Fig. 237). And, in fact, *Xochipilli* is very frequently figured in the form of a bird. As regards the rest of the representations, for one section of them, I think, I have given proof that they are merely the special expression of a fuller exposition of what those old tribes regarded as belonging to the nature of the four quarters of the heavens and of the powerful beings dwelling in them. And if, in dealing with these relations I still have had

to leave much in doubt, I am none the less confident that a wider and deeper knowledge of the subject will bring with it further support to the standpoint here taken up by me.

But in other respects also the series of pictures which accompany the *Tonalamatl* disposed in columns of five members are interesting. The artist who sketched these pictures had here to fulfil the further duty of crowding them into a relatively small space. Hence, as we were able above to show by several examples (cf. Figs. 60, 69, and 72), he was obliged, instead of figures in full, in a measure to place in juxtaposition only the salient points of those figures, or else to think of devices or symbols to illustrate the tangible objects. Thereby the way was entered which, if followed up, must have led to what in my opinion is presented by the Maya hieroglyphs. These do not represent a real script, as is so often maintained, but are only pictures which have been reduced to the appearance of letters, contracted to a narrow space, made cursive.

## II. The Gods of the Six Quarters.

SHEETS 9-11 (=KINGSBOROUGH 57-59). UPPER HALF.

This series, for which we have a parallel in the lower halves of Sheets 23-25 (=Kingsborough 22-20) of Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, consists of six pairs of deities figured facing each other. Beside them, distributed somewhat irregularly, are shown  $2 \times 20 = 40$  consecutive days, being indicated partly by the pictures of these days, partly by connecting points or coloured circles, but so that day-signs or points occur only in the first five divisions, and are altogether absent in the sixth. Exactly the same is seen in the parallel representation of Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (cf. Figs. 249-252, 255, 256); only there the signs are regularly disposed in five times eight signs. On the meaning of the series I can but offer surmises. The even numbers occur as a rule with the Earth deities,<sup>1</sup> who are thought of as females, and are partly joined with the deities of the Night and with the Moon. If we assume, what is indeed probable enough, that the ancient Mexicans had brought the Moon also within the sphere of their observations, that, for instance, they had sought to determine the beginning of the Moon by some particular fixed star, they would have made the discovery that, when they had seen the Moon rise once in the evening with a particular fixed star, it rose the next time towards morning with the same fixed star, and that the day to which this morning belongs is named by a sign lying eight units further on. Hence, when the first rise occurred with the fixed star in the evening of a *cipactli* day, the next rise took place with the same fixed star in the morning of an *atl* day. For the sidereal (the true) orbital period of the Moon consists of about  $27\frac{1}{2}$  days. Now since eight signs go evenly, not into twenty, but into  $2 \times 20$  or forty, it is not impossible that the  $5 \times 8$  day-counts were entered here to record the shifting of the day-sign which has entered or will enter at the time of the next rise of the Moon with the same fixed star.

Three sidereal months make just about a full number of 82 days, six just about a full number of 164 days. Perhaps this was a reason why the Powers which influenced these periods were thought of with the

<sup>1</sup> Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, elucidated by Dr. Eduard Reber, Berlin and London, 1901-1902, pp. 66, 76.

numeral six. But other mystical or natural considerations might have led to the like result. The luminous form of the Moon might, for instance, be thought of in six phases:—crescent, half disk, full disk, half disk reversed, crescent reversed, dark disk. In any case nobody can see anything contradictory or strange in the fact that divine powers that were brought into relation with the Moon were taken with the numeral six.

That six periods of  $27\frac{1}{2}$  days, hence six sidereal months, were really calculated, and a correction thus to some extent introduced, as required by the rough and inaccurate assumption of 28 days for this month, I think I find evidence in the circumstance that the sign which, starting from the sign *cipactli*, was reached after the course of six real sidereal months, that is, after 164 days, namely the sign *cuetzpalin*, 'Lizard,' was specially distinguished in the first of these divisions by a picture, and not merely indicated by a dot, like the other connecting members; and further, that also in the next division the sign *malinalli*, 'Twisted,' removed eight signs from the sign *cuetzpalin*, was similarly specially distinguished by a picture. And so correspondingly in the third and fourth divisions. Hence in this way a sun of nine sidereal months was reckoned by these day-signs. And that is precisely the number of such months which is just about reached by the number of days in a *Tonalamath*.

Compared with this clear relation, which is presented with the day-counts given with this series in Codex Fojérváry-Mayer, divers discrepancies or irregularities are certainly shown by the day-counts exhibited with the six pairs of deities in our manuscript. First of all, in the first division the last sign (*tochtli*, 'Rabbit') was, like *cuetzpalin* and *malinalli*, indicated not merely by a dot, but by a full picture. This, however, might be accidental, and in any case constitutes no substantial deviation. On the other hand, it is more remarkable that the third division in our manuscript, instead of *ávin*, 'Motion,' begins with *tecpatl*, 'Flint,' a sign which is removed, not 8 or 28 but 29 counts from the initial sign *atl*, 'Water,' of the second division; and, further, that then the fourth division again begins with the sign *moctatl*, 'Deer,' which is also removed 29 signs from the initial count of the third division, whereas the fifth division has again the same sign, *acatl*, 'Reed,' as the fifth division of Codex Fojérváry-Mayer. A similar irregularity also occurs in the middle of the second division, where it is not the sign *sudínalli*, as in Fojérváry, but the next following, *acatl*, 'Reed,' that is specially distinguished by a picture, while in the next following third division the sign *rockitl*, 'Flower,' is again shown with a full picture, as in Fojérváry. These irregularities are undoubtedly noteworthy. But the circumstance that in Fojérváry the order of the counts reveals a law, which is not the case in our manuscript, and that on the other hand our manuscript returns again and again to the day-counts as in Fojérváry, induces me to surmise that after all in our manuscript we have to do merely with accidental deviations. These had doubtless their origin in the circumstance that the draughtsman of our manuscript, which perhaps represents a book already copied hundreds of times, was unacquainted with the law of this series, and consequently fancied he was only introducing permissible variants where he was really making serious changes.

Hence, taking my stand on the order of the day-counts presented by Fojérváry, I feel inclined to go a step beyond what I advanced in my elucidations of Codex Fojérváry-Mayer, in fact ascribe to this series of the six pairs of deities a more decided significance, and consider them as the expression or illustration of particular, i.e. sidereal months based on observations of settled lunar periods. These pairs of deities themselves need not be brought into direct relation therewith. It suffices that for the number six such a relation should be made probable, since then the very pairs of deities here figured become nothing more than an embodiment of the number six or of the six quarters. And that such they really are I have advanced proofs in the just-mentioned elucidations.<sup>1</sup> And in truth the order in which these six pairs of deities are to be combined with the quarters of the heavens, an order after all in itself

<sup>1</sup> Codex Fojérváry-Mayer, Berlin and London, 1901-1902, pp. 121-123.

the most natural and the most in accordance with the other incidents, is that the first pair shall correspond with the East, the others in their turn with the North, West, South, the Upper and the Under Region.

The first pair of the series, which indicates the East, stands in our manuscript on the left side of Sheet 9, in Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (Fig. 249) on the right side of Sheet 23. The sequence of the pictures in the two manuscripts is exactly the opposite. Consequently the day-counts shown below the figures are to be read in our manuscript from left to right, in Codex Fejérváry-Mayer from right to left. And in most cases the left figure of the pair in our manuscript does correspond to the right in Codex Fejérváry-Mayer.

In our manuscript the first person of this first pair is painted a blue colour, has a *dog's head*, and wears the two-coloured cone-shaped Huastec hat (*capilli*) of the god *Quetzalcóatl*, as well as the fan-like feather adornment of his nape (*woyaluitoncatl*). The Fejérváry figure is not quite so characteristic, although here, too, the dog's head is distinctly shown. In this figure we have to recognise *Xolotl*, who is the God of Ball-playing, of Twins, and of Monstrosities, and here perhaps represents the East, since he stands in a certain relation to the Morning Star, which is likewise a twin, appearing as Morning and Evening Star.

Facing this figure in Codex Fejérváry is pictured a female form who is doubtless to be identified as *Xochiquetzal*. But in our manuscript this second person of the first pair is, like the first, garbed as a man. On the wrap which he has swathed round him in front we see the two little squares which occur as facial painting with *Xochipilli*, *Tonacatecutli*, and the Maize Gods, and in Codex Borjia also on the robe of the female maize deities. Hence in my elucidations of Codex Fejérváry-Mayer I thought that this figure should be designated *Xochipilli*. Now, however, I feel inclined in the somewhat indistinct ornament worn by our figure at the head-strap in front to recognise the marine snail's shell (*teccitli*), and would accordingly now explain this figure as *Teciztecutli*, i.e. the Moon God. If this be right, substantial support will be lent to what I above thought should be inferred regarding the significance of the whole series. Then the *Xolotl* figure facing him would now perhaps acquire another meaning. One might imagine that here *Xolotl* is intended to personify the Moon as the darker brother of the Sun.

The second pair, both in our manuscript and in Codex Fejérváry (Fig. 250), are clearly to be recognised as *Tlaçolteotl*, the old Huastec Earth Goddess, and *Mictlantecutli*, Lord of Hades. *Tlaçolteotl* and *Mictlantecutli* stand for the quarter of the North, which is the Realm of Earth, of Darkness, of the Dead. In other places also, for instance, Sheet 72 (= Kingsborough 43) of Codex Borjia, *Tlaçolteotl* is given as representative of the North. Here *Mictlantecutli* is figured as a corpse swathed in a bundle, and beside him are shown in Codex Fejérváry the picture of a rounded heart, in our manuscript a bundle of fuel and a rubber ball, the symbol of burning (cremation). He is known as the specific representative of the quarter of the North, which indeed was by the Mexicans called by the very name of *mictlanjca*, 'Region of Hades.' Fully to grasp the meaning



Fig. 249. *Xolotl* and *Xochiquetzal*,  
Rulers of the East.  
Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 23 (= Kingsborough 22)



Fig. 250. *Tlaçolteotl*, Earth Goddess (Moon Goddess), and *Mictlantecutli*, Lord of Hades, Rulers of the North.  
Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 23 (= Kingsborough 22)

of this series it is perhaps of some moment to remember that *Tlacoteotl* is not seldom figured with the picture of the Moon beside him, and in places seems to appear for the very *Moon Goddess* herself (e.g. in Codex Borgia 55 = Kingsborough 60).

The third pair is depicted in our manuscript on the left side of Sheet 10, in Codex Fejérváry (Fig. 251) on the right side of Sheet 24, and stands for the quarter of the West. The pair may with some confidence be identified as *Xochipilli* and *Xochiquetzal*, the Gods of Food Supplies and of Flowers, who for the Mexicans denoted wealth, pleasure, the adornments of life, artistic excellence. In our manuscript the character of these gods and of the corresponding quarter is further indicated by a jewelled bowl in which are seen two maize-ears and three upright flowers.



Fig. 251. *Xochipilli* and *Xochiquetzal*, Gods of Food Supplies (Wraith) and of Flowers, Rulers of the West. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 24 (= Kingsborough 21).



Fig. 252. The Dance Gods, Rulers of the South. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 24 (= Kingsborough 21).

represented with white, the other with red body and face painting. In connection with the above-advanced theory on the significance of this series, it seems not uninteresting to note that on Sheet 38 of our manuscript *Tecoteotl*, the Moon God, is represented as a musician, beating the drum, and whirling the rattle.

The two persons of the fifth pair (on the left side of Sheet 11) are drawn in our manuscript rather sketchily, and not very characteristically. We perceive, none the less, that two male figures, with the warrior's head-dress (*tequius*), are intended to be represented. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (Fig. 255) figures more distinctly two persons seated on the jaguar-skin seat (*oocloicpatli*), enveloped in a long robe, which

The picture may perhaps be explained as the very *xochitl itzacan*, 'where the flowers stand erect.' This was the name of a kind of earthly paradise, home of the maize, and cradle of the tribes, and designated also by the name of *Tamocinchan*, 'House of Descent.' A similar picture, however, is seen with the first group, the rulers of the East, since the East also was regarded by the Mexicans as a region of abundance, that is, of procreation, of fecundity, and of prosperity.

The fourth pair must now denote the South. They are two male forms obviously of kindred nature. In Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (cf. Fig. 252) on one side is a god painted half red half jaguar-skin colour, with red face and white design about his mouth. On the other side a god who has a white body and black face and a peculiar white design about eye and mouth, in this respect as in his whole array akin to the figures which are seen figured in a dancing attitude in Codex Borgia (Fig. 253) and in our manuscript (Fig. 254) facing *Uenecogotl*, ruler of the fourth *Tonalamatl* section. Hence I have designated this fourth pair as *Dance Gods*. For some, for him of the black face, the name *Istiltón*, 'the Little Blackface,' should be appropriate. No doubt Sahagun calls him at first merely the god of a particular cure for sick children, but then also names him the god who broaches the pulque jar and, as it seems, presides over all dancing parties, and in connection with him takes occasion to describe 'la manera que tienen estas danzas ó bailes que por otro nombre se llaman aroytos, y en su lengua se llama *uacoculcilli*.' The other is perhaps to be identified with *Mocuilxochitl*, although differing from him in his painting, garb, and appearance. In our manuscript also the two figures of the fourth pair are distinguished by their dress and appearance as *Dance Gods*, and here, too, one of them is



with one is dark green decorated with white-spotted disks, with the other light blue with disks, or rather balls made of downy feathers. Both wear the *axtlaçelli*, the forked heron-feather ornament, on their head, and both have their face painted in the style of *Tezcatlipoca* and *Uitzilopochtli*, that is, with the *pilsachinalli* or 'children's face-painting,' the erous bands made of children's dirt, which stands out in a yellow colour from the rest of the body-painting. The person to the left is painted as a red god (*Tlathauqui*



Fig. 253. The Dance God.  
Codex Borjia 64 (= Kingsborough 51).



Fig. 254. The Dance God.  
Codex Vaticanus B, 52 (= Kingsborough 65).

*Tezcatlipoca*), and wears the bandage over his eyes and the bow (tie) on his mouth, like *Itzamalcohuqui*, God of Stone and of Punishment, who can be conceived only as a form of *Tezcatlipoca*. The other is a blue god, hence has his face like *Uitzilopochtli*. In my elucidations of Codex Fojérváry-Mayer<sup>1</sup> I have un-  
 deavoured to prove more fully that one of these two gods is intended to symbolise the North, the other the South, or, more correctly, one the young god in the northern heaven, the other the young god in the southern heaven, hence that both together here stand as representatives of the heaven on high, of the upper region. The two persons of the fifth pair in our manuscript are also undoubtedly to be regarded as related to these so characteristically executed figures in Codex Fojérváry. For one of them, he to the left, is distinctly pictured as a red god and with *Tezcatlipoca's* face-painting, hence as a *Tlathauqui* *Tezcatlipoca*. And the symbol, too, which is seen in Codex Fojérváry-Mayer between the two figures, and is composed of the image of the Sun and a design which must be read *tiçatl*, 'White Chalk' or *çetl*, 'Cohi,' this symbol is likewise given in our manuscript, although in a somewhat modified form foreign to its proper significance, *blood* being pictured instead of the *tiçatl-çetl*. But the figure to the right in our manuscript should doubtless be explained only in a general way as the 'warrior in the South Heaven.' Stress must here again be laid on the fact that *Tezcatlipoca*, who is the representative of the North, and consequently also of Darkness and of the Earth, is brought into relation with the Moon.



Fig. 255. *Tezcatlipoca-Tzatzamal* and *Uitzilopochtli*,  
Rulers of the North and South Heaven,  
i.e. of the Upper Region.  
Codex Fojérváry-Mayer 20 (= Kingsborough 20).

<sup>1</sup> Berlin and London, 1901-1902, pp. 120-122.

and seems actually to appear for the Moon. *Ce miquitli*, 'one Death,' the sign of the Moon in the pictorial writings,<sup>1</sup> is given by Sahagun<sup>2</sup> as a name of *Tescatlipoca*.

The sixth and last pair is formed in our manuscript and in Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (Fig. 256) by two old women who have between them a remarkable insect, which in Codex Fejérváry-Mayer is drawn



Fig. 256. *Iamotecutli* and *Tonacacuatl*,  
the Old Goddesses, the Earth Mothers,  
the Rulers of the Lower Region.  
Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 25 (= Kingsborough 211.

almost like a butterfly, but is seated on an unmistakable cobweb, hence must represent a spider (*hocatl*). The cobweb appears for the Mexicans to have been a symbol of descent from above. According to Mendieta<sup>3</sup> *Tescatlipoca* let himself down from heaven by a cobweb thread, and in the *Tonalamatl* of Codex Borbonicus a spider is figured wherever a god is represented who was regarded as one of the *Trituzimé*, the forms descending from above, the stellar gods and demons of darkness.<sup>4</sup> Hence that these two old women are intended to denote the lower region is doubtless clear enough, and in Codex Fejérváry is made still clearer by a skull being figured below. The two goddesses themselves naturally represent the old Earth Mothers, the primeval Gods of Creation, who may be distinguished by the names of *Iamotecutli*, 'the Old Princess,' or *Iamcueryé*, 'the Old Woman,' or *Tonacacuatl*, 'the Lady of our Flesh,' 'the Lady of Procreation.' A special relation to the Moon is not exactly expressed in a direct way in their case, but is obvious enough, as indeed with all the Earth deities who are at the same time the Night Gods.

### III. Another List of the Guardians of the Six Quarters.

SHEETS 9-11 (= KINGSBOROUGH 57-59). LOWER HALF.

Below the six pairs of deities described in the foregoing chapter, in our manuscripts are found six single figures of gods, which, however, are of larger size, and each depicted seated in a temple. For this series also we have parallel representations in Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, but they are here separated from the preceding series by another series on the lower halves of the Sheets 30-32 (= Kingsborough 15-13). This series shows itself related to the preceding series of the six pairs of deities, not only in that it is constructed on the numeral six, but above all in that with it exactly the doubled number of the day-counts is given by pictures and connecting points, just as with the previous row we found it indicated likewise by pictures and connecting points, that is,  $4 \times 20 = 80$ . This number, however, is given correctly in Codex Fejérváry alone. In our manuscript one point has been omitted by mistake in the fourth division, and in the last division as many as four. In the explanatory tables I have supplied them, but have distinguished these added points from those actually entered in the manuscript by not filling in the circles. But if in the number of the day-counts an analogy really presents itself with the former series, they still differ to a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. The *Tonalamatl* of the Axton collection, circulated by Dr. Eduard Heier, Berlin and London, 1900-1901, pp. 58-62.

<sup>2</sup> *Historia de las Cosas de la Nueva España*, book IV, chap. IX.

<sup>3</sup> *Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana*, book II, chap. V.

<sup>4</sup> Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, Berlin and London, 1901-1902, p. 60.

remarkable extent in their arrangement, since here in this second series of six representations the accompanying day-counts do not begin, as elsewhere, with the initial sign *cipactli*, but with the twelfth sign *malinalli*, 'Twisted.' It is not possible, or at least I have not hitherto found it possible, from the arrangement of these signs to compute a period which shall be brought into relation with that which I think I have been able to establish for the former series or with any other related period. Hence I must doubtless for the present assume that these six deities are really nothing more than an expression or illustration of the six quarters, while the day-counts entered with them are to be regarded as the signs or the days which denote the nature or the names of these deities: and, that they had to begin with the sign *malinalli* and its deity, because for some reason or other the author found it convenient not to begin the quarters of the heavens with the East.

As the initial sign *cipactli* stands here in the fourth division, it is to be taken as probable, as I have already pointed out in my elucidations of Codex Fejérváry-Mayer,<sup>1</sup> that the deities figured in the fourth division denote the East, and consequently that the six pictures of this third series in our manuscript are meant to correspond with the quarters of the heavens in the sequence:—South, Below, Above, East, North, West.

The deity figured in the first division with the sign *malinalli* is both in our manuscript (Sheet 9, lower row left) and in Codex Fejérváry (Fig. 257) entirely enveloped in a parti-coloured robe and shown seated in a high-backed chair covered with a jaguar-skin. The hair, as likewise with the next three, is bound round with the strap which is adorned with a jewelled disk and on the frontal side shows a conventional bird's head. On the top of the head a rich feather ornament is attached, and in his hand is held a perfectly round feather fan. From the whole aspect of the figure, and also because both in Codex Fejérváry and in our manuscript the temple in which he is seated is decorated with flowers, I think I may identify this god with

*Xochipilli*, who indeed is in other places also made to represent the region of the South.

In the second division, with which in Codex Fejérváry (Fig. 258) is shown the sign *zochitl*, 'Flower,' but in our manuscript the sign *coatl*, 'Snakes,' we see an animal-headed form which is clothed in the same parti-coloured garment and in other respects also is equipped like the figure of the preceding division, but in its hands holds a feather fan of a different form. Before it in Codex Fejérváry (Fig. 258) a crossway is depicted. In Fejérváry the roof of the temple is enveloped in a kind of smoky or foggy cloud similar to that shown in the same manuscript with the series of gods



Fig. 257. *Xochipilli*, God of Flowers and Food Supplies, Ruler of the South. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 30 (- Kingsborough 15).



Fig. 258. *Tlaltecotli*, Earth God, Ruler of the Lower Region. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 30 (- Kingsborough 15).

<sup>1</sup> Berlin and London, 1901-1902, pp. 140-149.



Fig. 259. The Animal-headed God of Earth and Itz'nyé, the Earth Goddess. Codex Nuttall 3.

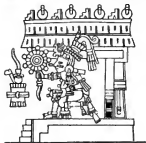


Fig. 290. Xochipilli as the Sun God, Ruler of the Upper Region. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 31 (=Kingsborough 14).



Fig. 261. The Zapotec God with the Snake's Jaws, Ruler of the East. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 31 (=Kingsborough 14).

of the four quarters of the heavens on the ridge of the North temple. In our Vatican manuscript the roof of the temple is rent as by a wedge or a broad arrow-head and from under it fire shoots out. Hence we have doubtless to think of it as struck by lightning. It is hard to say what kind of animal species is meant to be represented by this god. But there can be no doubt that it is intended for some deity of the Earth, and that the quarter of the *Belcar* is intended to be illustrated. This is at once pointed at by the crossway at Fig. 258, and by the temple-roof rent by lightning in the picture in our manuscript. In Codex Fejérváry on Sheets 38-43 (=Kingsborough 2-7) six such animal-headed forms are represented which obviously stand in opposition to six immediately preceding pictures exhibiting the six heavens, hence must indicate the six Earth regions. And in the lately published Codex Nuttall on Sheet 3 (Fig. 259) this animal-headed God of Earth is seen associated with the beheaded Earth Goddess. In my observations of Codex Fejérváry-Mayer I have called attention to the fact that this same animal species is evidently to be likewise recognised in the animal-headed priests who officiate as the 'Bringers of the years' in the famous Sheets 25-28 of the Dresden manuscript. In the upper divisions of these sheets exhibiting the last days of the old year these priests are represented as bringing in the effigy of the new year on a peculiarly constructed high-backed litter.

In the third division of this series, below which in both manuscripts stands the sign *oomóthi*, we see pictured in both manuscripts a form which is similar to that of the first division, but, unlike it, is not completely wrapped in a parti-coloured garment; in Codex Fejérváry (Fig. 260) it is painted a red instead of a yellow colour, and in our manuscript has a perfectly circular spot on its yellow-painted face, like that which appears in the facial painting of the Sun God. In Fejérváry the temple of this god is decorated on the ridge with jewelled disks; and before it is seen a burnt-offering, a bundle of fuel and a rubber ball, beside which is stuck a bone dagger. I think with all this I may identify this deity as Xochipilli, as the Sun God, and as representative of the upper region.

A remarkable deity is seen in the fourth division, below which in both manuscripts is pictured the sign *cipactli*, 'Crocodile.' It is a figure which in a human face has inserted a kind of snake's throat. In our manuscript this is clearly drawn, while the Fejérváry picture (Fig. 261) reminds one somewhat of the way the Rain God *Tlaloc* is represented in several manuscripts (our manu-



Fig. 262. *Chicome olin* and *matlatli omome res-squakéti*. Vienna Manuscript 4.

scripts, Codex Laud, Codex Fejérváry). In Codex Fejérváry the figure is completely clothed in green feathers, and the thatch of the temple roof also consists of green feathers, while the whole ridge is pointed in the colour of the hieroglyph *chalehuilitl*, 'Green Jewel.' At the posterior end of the roof is further to be seen a peculiarly detached portion, which consists of the same *chalehuilitl* and quetzal-feather elements, and has the appearance of a feather mantle. In the Mexican manuscripts proper there is no parallel to this deity. But he may perhaps be compared with the *chicome olin* of the Vienna manuscript (Fig. 262), where on Sheet 4 he is figured standing on a mountain, at which will be found as a determinant a quetzal-feather mantle depicted quite analogously to that shown on the temple roof of the Fejérváry picture (Fig. 261). And without doubt with this god is to be compared the figure which is similarly distinguished by a snake's throat inserted in the human face, and is found (crowned with a huge feather head-dress) modelled on the anterior side of numerous Zapotec sepulchral jars.

In the fifth division, below which is given the sign *ocelotl*, 'Jaguar,' in both manuscripts is seen a temple whose ridge is garnished with eyes and with skulls, and whose posts are also formed of a skeleton's vertebral column. Within this temple is figured *Mictlantecutli*, the Death God (Fig. 263), who here, as in the preceding series, represents the quarter of the North.

In the sixth and last division, below which in both manuscripts is found pictured the sign *tochtli*, 'Rabbit,' Codex Fejérváry (cf. Fig. 264) shows the effigy of *Tloquecetzotl*, the old Huastec goddess in a framework of poles entwined by two snakes and crested on a temple-pyramid. Two small squares

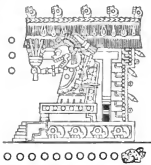


Fig. 263. *Mictlantecutli*, the Death God, ruler of the North. (Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 32 (Kingsborough 12).

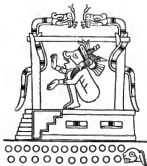


FIG. 264. *Tiaxolteotl*, the Earth Goddess,  
Ruler of the West.  
Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 32 (= Kingsborough 13).

exactly similar to those that form the facial painting of the Maize Gods are seen figured on the walls of this temple-pyramid, which with its superstructure of a framework of poles represents the *Tocititlan*, the temple of *Tiaxolteotl*. This goddess herself is the representation of the West, which indeed is the *cuauhtlan*, the 'Region of Women,' and the land where the Sun enters the dark house of Earth. In this division our manuscript is not quite so clear. A temple and a framework of poles are here also to be seen. But that this is intended for the temple of *Tiaxolteotl* is made certain only by the Fejérváry picture. In this temple the goddess is not figured in her real form, but illustrated by a symbol:—a stone knife (the Earth) and a man tumbling into the throat of this stone knife (the Sun swallowed up by the Earth).

## IV. The Three Realms.

### SHEET 12 (= KINGSBOROUGH 60).

This is a representation which is peculiar to the Codex Vaticanus, and by the side of which I have nothing to set either from the related or from any other manuscripts.

The sheet is disposed in three divisions, one above and two below. To judge from the position of the figures, the one to the right below is to be taken as the first division. Here is seen a male form painted a red colour with a kind of eagle's head, and whose arm, set with wavy plumage, represents a wing. Before him, by means of numerical dots and the sign *quauhtli*, 'Eagle,' is indicated the day *macuil quauhtli*, 'five Eagle,' the fifth day of the eleventh *Tonalamati* division which begins with *ce ocomatl*, 'one Ape.' We must accordingly look on *macuil quauhtli* as the name of this eagle-headed deity. In the second division, left below, is figured the Maize God *Cinteotl*—yellow and with the angular black longitudinal bands on his face, almost exactly as we shall again meet him on Sheet 20 as fourth of the nine Lords of the Night.

Lastly, in the upper division we see the familiar form of the Death God, *Mictlantecutli*, with skull and skeleton's thorax, and girtled with a short coat of *matlacalli* grass. All three gods are thrusting a pointed staff into an open throat of Earth, which doubtless means they are digging a hole in the earth. And the purpose this digging is intended to serve seems to be explained on the right side of the upper division, where are to be seen two bodies done up in a bundle, and each seized by a throat of Earth. But this may also possibly be merely meant for a further exposition of the Death God, whose dolving is in fact nothing more than grave-digging. By ciphers and the specified day-count *quauhtli*, 'Eagle,' in the three divisions are entered the 25 days from *ce ocomatl*, 'one Ape' to *matlacalli omome quauhtli*, 'twelve Eagle' inclusive, that is to say, in the first division the days from 1 *ocomatl* to 10 *zochtil*, in the second (with *Cinteotl*) the days from 11 *cipactli* to 4 *macatl*, and lastly in the upper division with the Death God the days 5 *tochtli* to 12 *quauhtli*. On the significance of this series I have nothing definite to say. Possibly it was intended to symbolise the three realms—Heaven (by the Eagle), Earth (by the Maize God), the Underworld (by the Death God).

## V. Above and Below. House of Rain and House of Drought.

SHEETS 13 and 14 (=KINGSBOROUGH 61, 62).

SHEETS 15 and 16 (=KINGSBOROUGH 63, 64).

For these sheets, too, there are no parallels in the other manuscripts. On these twice two sheets are seen two homologous representations. Both show on the right side a temple whose posts and roof-ridge are drawn and painted in the style of the hieroglyph of the jewel (*chalchihuitl*); on it as pinnacles stand a row of jewelled disks, and about it is coiled a snake. On the left side we see a temple whose posts and roof-ridge are formed of bones and parts of skeletons, whose roof-straw is oven black and set with eyes and stone knives; on it as pinnacles stand skulls and human hearts, and it is encircled by a centipede, which has scorpions' nippers at the anterior extremities, and also (on Sheet 15) the scorpion's poisonous sting at the tail-end. In the first house dwells a turkey-cock (*axcolotl* or *chalchiuhtotolin*), who is distinguished by his black plumage and the fleshy excrescence at his head. In the second is an owl (*tecolotl*) which, as usual, is drawn in full face and with large round eyes.

The turkey is the bird of *Tlaloc*, the Rain God, who appears in the disguise of this bird in the series of the thirteen birds in the *Tonalamattl* of the Aubin collection, which in my opinion symbolise the thirteen hours of the day.<sup>1</sup> Hence the turkey symbolises the rain, the *chalchiuhtl*, the precious moisture that drops from heaven. And it is a very noteworthy fact that also amongst the Pueblo Indians, the Zuni, and the Hopi or Moqui, the turkey has exactly the same meaning.<sup>2</sup> With the Mexicans, and especially in these picture-writings, where everything receives a special application or relation to sacrifice, the *chalchiuhtl*, the 'Jewel-water,' the 'precious moisture,' is conceived as the blood which is drawn from himself by the penitent, and thus the *chalchiuhtotolin*, the 'Jewelled Fowl,' the Turkey-cock, becomes the image of *Tezcatlipoca*, of the punishing god, and the emblem of penance. As such he appears as ruler of the eighteenth day-count, *tecpatl*, of the Flint Knife, and of the seventeenth *Tonalamattl* division, which begins with *ce atl*, 'one Water,' where the penitent is exhibited before him in the most diverse aspects, some realistic, some of a symbolic character. The connecting link between these two concepts, 'Rain' and 'Blood, blood of mortification, penitential exercises,' and the reason of the twofold part which the turkey plays in this way, lies without doubt not only in the double meaning given to the word *chalchiuhtl*, but assuredly also in the fact that the one was intended to draw down the other, that the blood which was offered was intended to bring down the rain on the fields. In our pictures, on Sheets 14 and 16 of the Vatican, we have doubtless to assume the original meaning, and look on the jewelled house of the jewelled bird, of the turkey, as the house of the *Rain God*, the *Cloud-house of the sky*, the realm or the season of rain. But the snake which we see coiling round this house, assuredly here again denotes blood, hence has relation to the just-mentioned other meaning of the word *chalchiuhtl* and its representatives. For we see this snake set not only with flint knives and eyes, but also (on Sheet 14) with a bone dagger, where the flower, as always, indicates the blood which flowed from the self-inflicted wound made with this instrument.

The owl in the house built of dead men's bones and encircled by a centipede naturally indicates by contrast the *House of Death*, the *House of Earth*, the *Region or the Season of Drought*.

<sup>1</sup> The *Tonalamattl* of the Aubin collection, Berlin and London, 1900-1901, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> '*Utsira* "the wrapper" = the breast leather of the turkey. Its speckled color is said to indicate the all color of the below. Its white tip the loaming water of one of their early deities, prior to which the whole tip of the feather was black. It is a very general moisture emblem'—*Fowles*. *American Anthropologist*, v. p. 228.

Now with these two houses are combined a number of day-counts in a remarkable manner, but not in the same way in both of the parallel representations. Most easily understood is the law of distribution on Sheets 15 and 16 of the second representation. Here we see in the centre, boldly and distinctly drawn, the five first day-counts, and so arranged as to convey the impression that they are intended to symbolise the expansion towards the four quarters, that is, the Earth. From them nine closely connected day-counts lead to the fourteenth day-count, the sign *ocelotl*, 'Jaguar,' which stands just before the owl at the threshold of the House of Death, and is without doubt intended to indicate this House of Death and of Drought, the *Underworld*. Then round about this sign and round about this house, the four next following signs are disposed much in the same way as they are around the sign *cipactli* in the centre of the two sheets, no doubt in order to symbolise the expansion of this region also towards the four quarters. On the other side nine day-counts, the first of which, however (*motiualli*), is joined neither with the centre nor with the previous series, similarly lead to the sign *xochitl*, 'Flower,' which stands just before the head of the turkey at the threshold of the jewelled house of the Rain God, and is without doubt intended to be significant for this house, that is, Heaven, in the same way as was previously the sign *ocelotl* (for the House of Death). Then around this sign, distributed in the four corners, are likewise disposed the four next following signs, in order to indicate the expansion of this region also towards the four quarters. The jaguar, as in my elucidation of the *Tonalnamtl* of the Aubin collection<sup>1</sup> I have more fully set forth, is the emblem of the solar eclipse, of the devouring darkness, of the dark realm of the Earth. Hence his sign is quite an appropriate symbol for the skeletal house of the owl figured on Sheet 15. The flower *xochitl*, on the other hand, like the *chukchiuitl*, the green jewel, means beauty, ornament, costliness, thriving and prospering, hence is in the same way a thoroughly suitable symbol for the house of the turkey, the realm of the Rain God, the Cloud-house of Heaven.

Now the distribution of the day-counts is different in the first of the two parallel representations on Sheets 13, 14. Here the initial sign of the reckoning is *cipactli* at the lower left corner of the house of the turkey. And starting thence by the way which on the explanatory table I have indicated with the ciphers 2-20, we again get back to the same house of the turkey, to the sign *xochitl*, 'Flower,' entered at the upper left corner of the same, which to me seems here also significant for this house of the turkey. On the other side from the sign *cipactli* we reach the sign *coatl*, 'Snake,' by the four corners of the house of the Owl (numbers 2\*-5\*). Thence it was intended to follow on with 6\* *miquiztli*, 'Death.' But here this is not the case, since below the lower left corner of the owl's house we see the sign *coatl*, 'Snake,' once more entered in compartment 6\*. I really think that this is a mistake, and that for this sign and the following compartments as far as 13\* (according to my notation carried out on the explanatory table) the sign following the given one should be placed. Then in the last compartment, No. 13\*, we should have, strictly speaking, to assume *acatl*, 'Reed,' after which *ocelotl*, 'Jaguar,' would again follow, this being, as I assume, characteristic for the house of the Owl and of Death, and the same sign with which on Sheet 15 this house is indicated.

## VI. The Four Quarters of the Heavens.

SHEETS 17, 18 (= KINGSBOROUGH 65, 66).

Amongst the contrasts and vicissitudes presented by surrounding nature to man, his thoughts have ever been most powerfully occupied with the rise of the light-giving day-star in the sky and its sinking into the earth and into night. It was but natural that the regions where this mysterious process was

<sup>1</sup> Berlin and London, 1901-1902, p. 48.



affected every new day, year in year out, should be supposed inhabited by special Powers, who embodied in themselves this striking contrast. And since between morning and evening midday, and between evening and morning midnight, represented special landmarks and culminating points, those regions also which in the circuit of the firmament formed the exact centre between morning and evening and between evening and morning, came in like manner to be necessarily regarded as the seat of Powers which gave in themselves expression to a like contrast: only for the Mexicans, as generally for all peoples dwelling in low latitudes near the equator, the problem became far more complicated than for us, since for them the sun culminated not only in the South, the quarter indicated by us as the 'midday sky.'

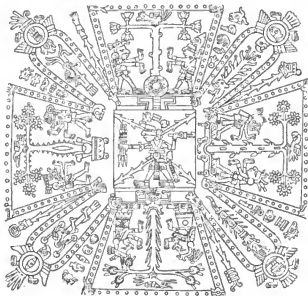


Fig. 263. The Five Regions and the Nine Lords of Night.  
Codex Fejérváry 1 (— Kingsborough 44).

but varied with the seasons, at one time culminating at noon, at another in the North, the quarter by us denoted as the 'midnight' region. Herein is found the explanation of the peculiar manifold nature of various forms in the Mexican mythology, and especially of *Tezcatlipoca*, who appears now as the northern, now as the southern deity, at one time as a Fire God, at another as a dark, nocturnal god.

Now the four quarters of the heavens occupy a large space in the representations of the pictorial writings. Amongst these quarters, as we have seen, was distributed the *Tomolannath*, which was the special period of time of the Mexicans, and served as a basis for all calculations and computations, and for recording all movements and occurrences. But the four quarters and their deities appear to have also formed of themselves a subject of pictorial representation. And such a representation is here presented to us on Sheets 17 and 18 of our manuscript. For although in the four divisions of these four sheets day-counts are likewise given — the four columns which form the

beginning of the four quarters of the *Tonalamatl* disposed in columns of five members — still these counts here serve without doubt merely to distinguish the several quarters, to name them, so to say, since the Mexicans could not very well supply, by glyphs or letters, terms like East, North, West, South, for this purpose.

The way that here on Sheets 17, 18 of our manuscript the four quarters are represented is peculiar to our manuscript in its special juxtaposition of trees and figures. But the trees are found disposed in a similar way on the famous Sheet 1 (= Kingsborough 44) of Codex Fajérváry-Mayer (Fig. 265), which symbolises the five quarters of the world. They also occur on the four splendid Sheets 49-52 (= Kingsborough 60-63) of Codex Borgia, where a connected representation is given to a series of diverse things and notions which are brought into relation with the four quarters of the heavens. But the figures which are seen depicted above the trees on our Vatican sheets are, as I shall show below, four persons only who occupy places corresponding to a series of nine duties that are likewise reproduced on Sheet 1 of Codex Fajérváry-Mayer.

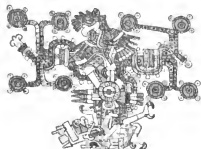


Fig. 266. Tree of the East.  
Codex Borgia 49 (= Kingsborough 60).



Fig. 267. Tree of the North.  
Codex Borgia 50 (= Kingsborough 61).

In my elucidations of Codex Fajérváry-Mayer<sup>1</sup> I have already thoroughly discussed the four trees which stand here as emblems of the four quarters of the heavens. The first, the tree of the East, is shown on the Fajérváry sheet within the trapeze above the central square (in the upper arm of the St. Andrew's Cross). The Codex Borgia picture I have here reproduced as Fig. 266. The tree itself is seen to be painted all over in blue, or blue and green, the colours of the jewel and of the turquoise, but in other respects is diversely drawn, now with flowers (Codex Fajérváry, Fig. 265, and our manuscript) now with jewelled (*chalcuinitl*) disks at the tips of the branches (Codex Borgia, Fig. 266), but that everywhere on its summit is pictured a bird distinguished by a green plumage, by a tuft of feathers on its head, and long green wavy tail feather, without doubt a *quetzalototl* (*Pharomacrus mocino*), and I have, therefore, called this tree of the East *quetzalquinitl*, 'Quetzal-bird Tree.' The flower, the jewel, the quetzal bird, are all symbols of coolness, of the precious fermenting moisture. By them the East is characterised as a region of prosperity, of fertility, of abundant food supplies.

Our manuscript is peculiar in that the four trees symbolising the four quarters of the heavens are drawn as if growing out of the body of a god clasping the stem, or else growing right through him. Here with the tree of the East it is a god painted with red body, half red half blue facial colour, distinguished by

<sup>1</sup> Berlin and London, 1901-1902, pp. 4-14.

a variegated head adornment, and seated on a bench painted the colour of the jewel (*chalcuitl*), whom, however, I cannot venture to identify with certainty.

The god figured in our manuscript above the tree of the East, in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 17, is distinctly characterised by his yellow body, by the fillet with the conventional bird's head in front, and by the feather ornament hanging down from the top of his head, as *Tzoatluc*, the Sun God. He is, as we shall see, the third of the nine Lords of the Night, and is also figured on the Codex Fejérváry sheet (Fig. 265) below the tree of the East, on the left side.

The second tree, that of the North, stands on the Codex Fejérváry sheet (Fig. 265) in the left arm of the St. Andrew's Cross. The Codex Borgia picture is shown at Fig. 267. Both in Fejérváry and in Codex Borgia stem and branches of this tree are set with thorns. In our manuscript it is depicted green but filled with a black design, by which elsewhere expression is given to the bony structure of the limbs of the Death God. In Codex Borgia (Fig. 267) the stem is likewise painted blue and green like that of the tree of the East; but at the same time on its surface is shown a design by which in this manuscript and elsewhere the bony armour of the crocodile and the hard carapace of the turtle are usually indicated. In Codex Fejérváry the stem is pictured as if cracked by the drought. On the top of the tree in all three manuscripts is seen the great bird of prey, the eagle (*quauhtli*), whose predatory character is further specially indicated both in our manuscript and in Codex Borgia by the stone knives set about the head, pinion, and tail feathers. I have therefore called this tree of the North *quauhtlacuauhtli*, 'Eagle Tree.' Hence by it the North is characterised as a region of thorny plants, of death, of drought, and of war. The god who in our manuscript is clasping the stem of the tree which in a measure grows right through him, has a white body-painting striped in red, and about his eyes shows the black, half mask-like painting, which is the 'stellar facial painting called darkness' (*waicētlakūitīvac motēcua tayōnalli*) of the deity of the Morning Star (*Tlaxīcōtlōpua tecuātlī*). We have accordingly to identify this god as *Mixcoātl*, God of the Hunt, who indeed elsewhere also appears as a representative of the quarter of the North.<sup>1</sup>

Above this tree of the North, in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 17, is seen the remarkable Fig. 268, which I have not elsewhere met similarly decorated. It is a god who is painted with a white body and yellow facial colour, and apparently wears the crescent-shaped nasal plate (*yaucmetzli*) of the Pulque Gods. Quite peculiar is the head covering. It seems to be a kind of red hood which on its lower border is edged round with white and blue disks, and has a kind of crest made of smoke wreaths, giving to the whole picture the appearance of a wig, in which are inserted two rods (?) with a pendant of white feathers. Judging from the position occupied by this figure beside the others pictured in the upper division of Sheets 17 and 18, we should have expected to find here figured the fifth of the nine Night Lords, that is, *Mictlantecūtlī*, the Death God. But no image of this deity is known to me that could be compared with the person shown at Fig. 268. According to the Fig. 265 on the Fejérváry sheet, *Mictlantecūtlī*, the Death God, should be depicted at the left side of the tree of the North, that is, in the left arm of the St. Andrew's Cross. But, as I have explained in my elucidations to Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, owing to the artist's carelessness the two figures in the left arm of the St. Andrew's Cross have changed places with those of the right arm; hence on this sheet the Death God stands on the left side of the tree of the South in the right arm of the St. Andrew's Cross.



Fig. 268. *Mictlantecūtlī*, Fifth Lord of the Night, Lord of the North. Codex Vaticanus 3713, Sheet 17 (= Kingsborough 65).

The third tree is that of the West, which on the Codex Fejérváry sheet (Fig. 265) occupies the lower

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, edited by Dr. Eduard Seler, Berlin and London, 1901-1902, pp. 25, 186, 190.

arm of the St. Andrew's Cross. The third tree of Codex Borjia is reproduced at Fig. 269. In our manuscript this tree of the West is painted white with red stripes, and seems to bear fruits instead of blossom at the tips of the branches. In Fejérvári, too, the tree is given in a white colour. The whole stem would appear to be provided with young sprouts which shoot up from the axil of leaf-stalks, or from the stalk remnants of fallen leaves. At the tips of the branches it bears white, hairy or feathery, long-pointed objects, which (perhaps) are intended to represent cracked fruits of a species like those of the *peach* or *Bombax Ceiba*. Lastly, in Codex Borjia the stem shows yellow and brown fields, which are filled with a linear design, meeting in the right corner, which is doubtless meant to reproduce the angular facial painting by which the Maize God is characterised in this (and also in our) manuscript. The end of the branches is formed by leaves and the male inflorescence of the maize plant shooting up from a kind of calyx. In our manuscript and in Fejérvári on the top of the tree is seen distinctly figured the humming-bird (*uitzilzilán*), and I have therefore indicated this tree of the West as *uitzilzilquavilt*, 'Humming-bird Tree.' In Codex Borjia it is more of a conventional bird form, which, however, is also painted a blue colour, like the hummer of Fejérvári and our manuscript.



Fig. 269. Tree of the West.  
Codex Borjia 51 (= Kingsborough 64).

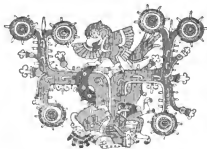


Fig. 270. Tree of the South.  
Codex Borjia 52 (= Kingsborough 65).

By the Codex Borjia picture the West is distinctly characterised as the home of the maize plant; and the pictures of the two other manuscripts seem likewise to symbolise this region as the fruit-bearing region. That the humming-bird appears as distinctive of this quarter of the world is perhaps explained by the circumstance that the hummer was regarded as the bird of the rainy period. Of him it was said that in the dry season he hung with his bill from a tree dead and lifeless, dried and featherless, and did not till the rainy period awake to new life, put on feathers, and again sit from flower to flower.<sup>1</sup> In our manuscript the tree of the West shoots up from a figure which embraces it. This being is painted a blue colour, but otherwise shows no further distinctive mark. Perhaps it is meant for *Xochipilli*, or else the Moon God, both of whom in our manuscript are similarly painted a blue (that is a dork) colour.

Above the tree of the West in our manuscript in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 18 is pictured the seventh of the nine lords, the Goddess *Tlacotaltl*, the old Huastec Earth Goddess who is clearly distinguished by her white colour, the black casotehuc painting about her mouth, the fillet of unspun cotton (*óh-nezcacótl*), and the spindle in her hair. This goddess is likewise given on the Fejérvári sheet, but on the right side of the tree of the West.

Lastly, the fourth tree is the tree of the South. In our manuscript we see a somewhat strangely designed tree which perhaps is intended for a palm (*quaqueoyótl*). On the summit is couched a jaguar.

<sup>1</sup> Sahagún, xi, chap. II, § 7.

and I have therefore indicated this tree of the South as *ocloquauitl*, 'Jaguar Tree.' The tree grows up from a figure which clasps it, and from its black-coloured body, the yellow and black cross bands on its face, and the forked heron-feather adornment (*axtaçelli*) in its hair, is to be identified as *Tecatlipoca*.

Quite different are the pictures of the two other manuscripts. In Codex Fejérváry (Fig. 265 *supra*, p. 77), the tree of the South is figured in the right arm of the St. Andrew's Cross. We see a tree painted blue below white above, which at the tips of the branches is set with flowers similar to those of the tree of the North, and at the forkings of the stem bears red spindle-shaped bodies pointed downwards which I was inclined to take for cacao hulls, these, as we know, being attached directly to the thick stem. I admit, however, that these forms may also signify something quite different, may, for instance, denote stone knives, although in this case it would be rather strange that they are painted red all over, and not, as elsewhere, white, and red only at the point. On the top of the tree is perched a parrot, and I must therefore indicate this tree of the South in Fejérváry as *ocloquauitl*, the 'Parrot Tree.'

Lastly, Codex Borgia (Fig. 270) shows a tree whose stem is painted red, the colour of blood, and is studded with little jags or tooth-like bosses. At the branch ends are large floral disks showing inside the hieroglyph *chakimiltl*, but are outside set with jags. On the summit we see distinctly down the red arms (*alo*), and can therefore give the name of *aloyauitl* to this tree of the South of Codex Borgia.

By these various representations it seems to me that the quarter of the South was intended to be indicated as the region of fire, of the fire bird, and of the Tierra Caliente (hot lands), but also as the place of thorns and of mortification.

Above the tree of the South, in our manuscript, in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 18, we see figured the ninth of the nine Lords of Night, *Tlaloc*, the Rain God. He is drawn somewhat strangely, but clearly recognisable by the large blue ring about his eye, the blue bands on the upper lip, and the teeth hanging down below. On the Fejérváry sheet (Fig. 265) *Tlaloc* should have been figured on the left side of the tree of the South. But owing to the displacement which I have mentioned above he has lighted with his associate on the opposite side below the tree of the North, and is there really to be seen, hence on the left side in the left arm of the St. Andrew's Cross.

Thus the Sheets 17, 18 of our manuscript have substantially and on the whole the same contents as Sheet 1 (= Kingsborough 44) of Codex Fejérváry. Here, however, we miss the fifth region of the world, which in Fejérváry is symbolised by the Fire God. But the four trees, the emblems of the four main quarters, are represented in a similar manner. Beside them are given the four quarters of the *Tonalanah* both in our manuscript and in Fejérváry. But instead of the four pairs of gods, the eight Lords of Night, following next after the Fire God, one only of each pair is figured, that is, the third, the fifth, the seventh, and the ninth.

## VII. The Four Ends of Heaven and the Four Ends of Earth.

SHEETS 19-23 (= KINGSBOROUGH 67-71). UPPER HALVES.

For the figures of our manuscript which here follow on the upper halves of Sheets 19-23 we have again a parallel in Codex Borgia, and that on the upper halves of Sheets 49-53 which correspond to Sheets 66-62 of Kingsborough's notation. In our manuscript these figures follow next after the two sheets on which are figured the four trees which symbolise the four quarters of the heavens. In Codex Borgia they occupy the upper halves of the sheets whose lower halves are filled with the representations which refer collectively to the four quarters, amongst which, however, the chief and

most essential part is formed by the four trees, emblems of the four quarters of the heavens. Hence there can scarcely be any doubt that these eight figures stand in the closest relation to the four quarters and their diverse properties. But for them, when compared with the chief representation of the four quarters, the four trees, the same remarkable peculiarity has to be noticed as we were able to observe with the second series of the gods of the six quarters, the gods in the temple (cf. pp. 70-76 *supra*), when these were compared with the chief representation of the gods of the six quarters, the six pairs of gods (cf. pp. 65-70 *supra*). The day-counts inscribed beside these four times two figures show that the proper initial of the series is to be sought, not in the first division with the first figure, but in the third division with the fifth figure, since, as in the other series of the gods of the six quarters, here with the first is shown, not the first day-count, but the twelfth, the sign *malinali*, 'Twisted,' while the initial sign, the sign *cipuctli*, 'Crocodile,' only follows immediately before the chief figure of the third division. And it will here be shown even more clearly than with the gods of the six quarters that the reason of this remarkable distribution of the day-counts lies in the fact that here, on the upper halves of Sheets 19-23 of our manuscript, and on the corresponding sheets of Codex Borgia, the heavenly quarters, or the deities associated with them, are exhibited, not, as elsewhere, in the order from East to North, West, South, but in the order from West to South, East, North. In my elucidations to Codex Fejérváry-Mayer<sup>1</sup> I had occasion to draw attention to an exactly analogous case. On Sheets 33, 34 (= Kingsborough 12, 11) of this manuscript with the representations of the deities of the four quarters, which, being set forth in the order from East to North, West, South, illustrated the correction of the length of the year for those conversant with the pictorial writings, with these representations are associated four other pictures obviously likewise standing in relation to the quarters of the heavens, but in which the quarters follow each other, not in the above-mentioned usual order, but also in the order from West to South, East, and North, as is there likewise indicated by a divergent, though again different distribution of the day-counts.

Now the special peculiarity of the series represented on the upper halves of Sheets 19-23 of our manuscript and in the above-mentioned places in Codex Borgia, consists, as we see, in the fact that in the four divisions which, as we must assume, correspond to the four quarters, two different figures are pictured, one of which, the first and chief figure of the division, supports the sky with outstretched and uplifted arms, while the other, the accompanying figure, holds a rattle-stick (*chicuastli*) in its hand. In one only of the accompanying figures, that of the third division, the rattle-stick is replaced by a flowering tree. The four chief figures are naturally the four *bearers* of the heavens, who, stationed at the four ends of the world, sustain the sky. By the rattle-stick which they hold in their hand the accompanying figures are placed in a special relation to the earth. For the rattle-stick is the distinctive mark of the Earth Goddess, of *Xipe*, of the various maize deities, and of the Water Gods. When plunked firmly on the ground it was made to rattle—*yaen ychicuastencolacaya ymayenhuampa quitzitziquiaya yn ignac tlalpan quitlquetzo cocolava*, 'and his rattle-stick held he (*Xipe Totec*) in his right hand, when he sets it firmly on the ground it rattles.'<sup>2</sup> In the remarkable strophes which according to their contents form an interlude apart, but are contained in the song to *Cihuacatl*, the Earth and War Goddess of Colhuacan, preserved in the Sahagun manuscript,<sup>3</sup> the *chicuastli*, the rattle-stick, is brought into direct relation with the tilling of the land.

*Huipa tonaca acotina centla*

'O, that wherewith our body is built up,<sup>4</sup> the maize-fruit.'

<sup>1</sup> Berlin and London, 1901-1902, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Sahagun, 9, 18, n. p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> Cantares que decian a hours de los dioses en los templos y fuera dellos. Nr. 12: *Cihuacatl* *grax*, Strophe 2-4.

<sup>4</sup> This translation is given with reserve. *acotli*, properly *acotzli*, i. e. *acogotli*, stands for *acotzli* or *acogotli*, that is to say, it is the abstract form of *acotl*, 'Foot,' which occurs, for instance, in the name of one of the associates of *Yamatlakli*, God of Traders, *Acamotzli*, 'he whose foot has been taken off' (that is *Harasin* of the Popul Vah, in other words *Tecotitlan*).

*teumilco chicauastlica motlaquechicua*

'in the field of the god, on the rattle-stick, she (the goddess) leans'

that is [so explains the commentator]:

*Inic nitocaya cestli, in mochicaya teumilpan ickicauastlica ynic tlatacayua,  
ynic tocaya*

'The in-digging (the planting) of the maize-fruit was done on the field of the god, with her rattle-stick she dug up the earth, she planted.'

*Vitzla, vitzla nomac temi*

*vitzla, vitzla nomac temi*

'the thorn (the agave-leaf spike) is in my hand'

*apan teumilco chicauastlica motlaquechicua*

'in the field of the god, on the rattle-stick, she (the goddess) leans'

that is [explains the commentator]:

*Vitzla, q. n. nomac temi nockicauastlica ynic nitocaya, ynic nitatatacayua*

'the thorn, i.e. [here the commentator's knowledge evidently ran out] is in my hand. With my rattle-stick I planted, I dug the earth up.'

*Mutimalla nomac temi*

'the grass-bunch (the besom) is in my hand'

*apan teumilco chicauastlica motlaquechicua*

'in the field of the god, on the rattle-stick, she (the goddess) leans'

that is [explains the commentator]:

*mutimalla, vitzli, q. n. vicia in tlachpanaya*

*id est, iclimiquia, ya vicia teumilpan auk ychicauastlica inic nitatatacayua  
inic nitocaya*

'the grass-bunch (the besom), that is, the eoa (the wooden delving-tool), i.e. with the eoa (with the wooden spade) she swept the ground, i.e. was uninterruptedly busy there in the field of the god, and with her rattle-stick, therewith I dug up the earth, therewith I planted.'

Lastly, with still more pregnant meaning we see the *chicauastli*, the rattle-stick, in the pictures which with *Tonacatecutli*, Lord of Procreation, ruler of the first day-count, exhibit the first human pair, or sexual union (Figs. 271-273). The *chicauastli*, which is here set up between the two persons covered with a common quilt, can symbolise nothing but this process. And it is further remarkable that in the Vatican A picture (Fig. 273) the *chicauastli* is replaced by a flint knife (*tepatl*) and two arrow-shafts, which are obviously meant to represent the *mamalkuastli*, the fire-drill. In conclusion the sense of fecundation lies also in the word *chicauastli* itself, which represents a kind of instrumental formation, and means 'what makes anything strong and vigorous.'

Hence the four rattle-bearers in front of the four sky-bearers are undoubtedly to be taken as the deities of the Earth. We shall accordingly be able briefly to designate the rattlestick-bearers and the sky-bearers, taken together, i.e. the whole series figured on the upper halves of Sheets 19-23 in our manuscript as '*Heaven and Earth at the four ends of the world*,' or 'the four expansions of Heaven and the four expansions of Earth.' And that these eight figures are really concerned with the expansion towards the four quarters is further specially expressed in this very series. Thus, at the close of the series in our manuscript, in the upper left corner of Sheet 23, and exactly in the same way on the right side of Sheet 53 in Codex Borgia, the centre, or the fifth quarter, the direction from above downwards, is exhibited by a peculiarly conventional throat of Earth which is almost transformed to the shape of the familiar step-like meander ornament, and into which a figure is plunging head foremost (Fig. 274).



Fig. 371.  
The First Human Pair.  
Codex Borjia 9  
(= Kingsborough 30).



Fig. 372.  
The First Human Pair.  
Codex Vaticanus 3773, Sheet 28  
(= Kingsborough 76).



Fig. 373.  
The First Human Pair.  
Codex Vaticanus 3773, f. 12 back  
(= Kingsborough 40).



Fig. 374. Fontana, the Plunger. The Centre of the Fifth Quarter, the Direction from Above downwards. Codex Borjia 53 (= Kingsborough 62).

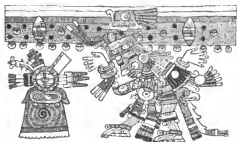


Fig. 375. Huananduetzilli, Deity of the Evening Star,  
Oriental God of the West.  
Codex Borjia 49 (= Kingsborough 60).



Fig. 376. Xipe Totec, 'Our Lord the Flayed,'  
Earth God of the West.  
Codex Borjia 49 (= Kingsborough 60).



Now as regards the eight figures taken severally, the first of them is the first of the four sky-bearers, who, as I have above explained, must symbolise the region of the West. Above him, on the floor of the sky, stands the first of the day-counts entered in this series, the sign *malinalli*, 'Twisted.' In our manuscript this person is not very characteristically figured. We see a god with white (red-striped) body and face painting, who wears a white cap on his head, and as breast ornament the eye which stands for the white ring (*anauatl*), *Tezcatlipoca's* breast ornament, or rather represents its original form. The only peculiarity calling for mention is the peculiar design edged round with spots on both ends of the loin-cloth. Before him on a conic eminence, which looks as if platted of grass, lies the obolus of war,—shield, bundle of spears, throwing-stick, and bent club set with jags, which, overlooking the bond, recalls the sword of a swordfish.

More distinct is the corresponding figure in Codex Borgia (Fig. 275). This shows the white red-striped body-colour, the black face with the white-spotted quincunx, the peculiar face-painting of *Tlaxicalpantecutli*, God of the planet Venus in its special form as Evening Star, also his yellow hair, the locks curling up above the brow, the fillet with its embossed white disks, and other peculiar articles of attire such as are characteristic of the god in this manuscript.<sup>1</sup> Hence there can scarcely be any doubt that the first sky-bearer of our manuscript is intended to represent the deity of the planet Venus. And we shall have all the less hesitation in so explaining the figure which is here pictured in the upper half of Sheet 19 of our manuscript, since in its whole aspect it really resembles the small figure of *Tlaxicalpantecutli* which we see on Sheet 57 of our manuscript confronting the Fire God, ruler of the ninth *Tonalamati* division, save only that our figure lacks the black half mask-like painting about the eye shown by the *Tlaxicalpantecutli* of Sheet 57. Besides, the implements of war which are figured on a cono-shaped green eminence fronting the god of our manuscript are similarly shown before the Codex Borgia deity at Fig. 275. The paraphernalia are even increased, since to shield, bundle of spears, throwing-stick and jagged bludgeon, here are further added a pouch for flint arrow-heads and a little hand-flag (sacrificial flag). As I have more fully set forth in my work on 'The Venus periods in the Codex Borgia Group of Manuscripts,'<sup>2</sup> the deity of the planet Venus was the spear-thrower, the shooting god, and therefore the patron of the hunt and of war.

Before this deity of the Evening Star, in our manuscript and in the corresponding place in Codex Borgia is pictured (Fig. 276) the familiar figure of *Xipe Totec*, our Lord the Flayed, as Earth God of the West, with the rattle-stick in his hand. In both manuscripts he is represented in characteristic manner with the hunsu skin drawn over him, the mask of human skin with its narrow slit eyes, the nasal rod and plate affecting the form of the *yopitzontli*, and the white and red painted ends of the loin-cloth forking off swallow-tail fashion. As breast ornament both figures wear a quail, which is also met not rarely elsewhere. Besides the rattle-stick, which here, strange to say, is painted blue—elsewhere with *Xipe* it is white and red, the colours of that god—both carry in their other hand the implements of war: shield, bundle of spears, and hand-flag, which, as is usual, shows the colours of this god, that is, consists of alternate white and red stripes. As god of the Sacrificio gladiatorio he is pictured in Codex Borgia (Fig. 276) with a full downy feather wig over his flame-coloured hair, from which curl up two forelocks, just as they do from the hair of the deity of the Morning Star, who is indeed also a war god. The girdle of this figure, as is usual in Codex Borgia, is formed by a band which in form and painting resembles the ends of the loin-cloth. But below is here displayed—a rare occurrence in this manuscript—the *tzapocuitl*, *Xipe's* little green coat of zapote leaves. A

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, xxx. (1898), pp. (259) and (262) *seq.* Sehr. Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde. Berlin (A. Asher & Co.), 1902, vol. 5, pp. 637 and 641 *seq.*—'Das Feuertier der Aztekischen Sammlung.' Berlin and London, 1904-1901, pp. 78, 80.—Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, Berlin and London, 1901-1902, pp. 76, 77.

<sup>2</sup> Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, xxx. (1898), pp. (266)-(268), (272)-(277). Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde. Berlin (A. Asher & Co.), 1902, vol. 5, pp. 638, 657-658.

further peculiarity of this Codex Borgia figure is the double jewelled string seen protruding from his mouth by which this god is evidently intended to be here characterised as the God of Fertility, the dispenser of rain, the bestower of vegetation.

In accordance with the above-developed theory the quarter of the South should now be represented in the second division on Sheet 20 of our manuscript. The first figure, the sky-bearer, above whom on the floor of the sky is pictured the day-count *olin*. 'Motion' is distinguished by a peculiar kind of painting and equipment, such as is not elsewhere met with any other figure in our manuscript, and in Codex Borgia only in the special section, Sheets 29-46. The body and limbs in our manuscript are red, in Codex Borgia (Fig. 277) *blue with longitudinal stripes*. In our manuscript the face is two-coloured, the lower half black, the upper yellow, but filled with a black crossed design similar to that which we met on the stem of the tree of the North. On the cheek, that is, in the black lower half of the face, is shown a *tlaxapochtli*, a black circular spot. On the other hand the Codex Borgia figure has its face painted entirely yellow. Only two narrow

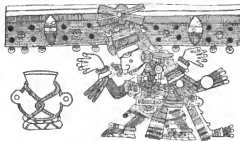


Fig. 277. U'itlapochtli, the Fire God of the North, U'etlaxial God of the South. Codex Borgia 50 (= Kingsborough 65).



Fig. 278. 'miel de magney orensa.' Codex Mendoza 29, 77.

bands are given in a dark shade, one running from the corner of the mouth, the other from the corner of the eye across the face—two bands, however, which also stand out in a deep black shade on the otherwise dark ground itself of the face of the deity of the planet Venus. Here, too, is seen a *tlaxapochtli*, but painted on the upper half of the face below the eye. In both manuscripts the hair is yellow, and the frontal band resembles that which in the respective manuscript may be taken as characteristic for the Fire God. Compare the figure in our manuscript with that of the Fire God in the left division of the lower half of Sheet 19, and the Codex Borgia picture (Fig. 277) with the figure of the Fire God (Fig. 279), ruler of the ninth *Tonatawatl* division on Sheet 69 (= Kingsborough 46), which is a parallel figure for the god pictured on Sheet 57 of our manuscript. With the two Codex Borgia pictures specially striking is the agreement in the figure of the cooting bird shown on the frontal side of the fillet. The attitude in which this bird is depicted on the frontal side of the fillet, in a sense of flying down, with head directed downwards, forcibly recalls the bird figure which is seen on the frontal side of the turquoise fillets on certain *Chichen-itza* figures. Moreover, the accordance between the two gods reproduced at Figs. 277 and 279 is made still more striking by the *conceitli* bird's head, which with both is found figured before the mouth, and apparently represents an ornament inserted in the pierced nasal septum, an ornament which is reduced to a simple volute in the pictures of the Fire God as figured in Codex Borbonicus. Hence it cannot be gainsaid that this second of the four sky-bearers is to be regarded as related to the Fire God,

notwithstanding its different body and face painting. As breast ornament this Celestial God of the South wears the square turquoise plate of the Fire God, and in our manuscript one cotinga bird, in the Codex Borgia figure (Fig. 277) two, attached to the long pendent necklace to which his breast-plate is fastened. This, too, is a peculiarity of the Fire God's attire, as may be seen in the figure of the Fire God, first of the nine lords, on Sheet 19 of our manuscript. Before the god in both manuscripts is pictured a bulging jar with round bottom, which is corded round with strings, and recalls the honey-pots figured in the Codex Mendoza tribute roll (cf. Fig. 278).

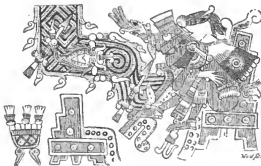


Fig. 278. *Xicli-teotl*, the Fire God, Ruler of the ninth *Tzauacauatl* division. Codex Borgia 69 (— Kingsborough 15).

On Sheet 20 of our manuscript, and in the corresponding place in Codex Borgia, the Death God *Mictlantecuotli* is depicted (Fig. 280) fronting the god described in the above passage. He is figured in the usual equipment, as a bony skeleton, but holding the rattle-stick *chicauaztli* in his hand, and is accompanied by a red-blood snake on which is perched an owl.

In the third division, on Sheet 12 of our manuscript, which must correspond to the quarter of the *East*, there follows, below the sign *ocotl*, 'Wind,' the characteristic form of *Quetzalcoatl*, the Wind God (Fig. 281). He is figured in the typical way with the red oral parts protruding like a beak and enframed by a beard at the base of the beak; with the gouged eye, the cone-shaped cap, to the back of which is fastened a black grouse wing (*ocelotepilli coccoligo*) and in which are stuck the bone dagger (*ensid*) and the agave-leaf spike (*sicilli*), the implements of mortification; lastly, the breast ornament sliced from a spiral snail's shell (*evailantzenotli*) and the hook-shaped ear-pendant (*epetotli*) sliced from a mussel-shell.

Facing *Quetzalcoatl* a god is soon figured as Earth God of the South, painted a light-yellow colour, and also in Codex Borgia (Fig. 282) with flame-coloured hair ending off in variegated tufts. In one hand he holds a flowering shrub instead of the *chicauaztli*, in the other a green bunch (*molinalli*)



Fig. 280. *Mictlantecuotli*, Lord of the Underworld, Earth God of the South. Codex Borgia 50 (— Kingsborough 65).

and an incense-pouch (*copalrignipilli*), and in him we must doubtless recognise *Xochipilli* the Flower God, who is a god of food supplies and has been identified with the *cozcacatl* bird who sings at dawn.

Lastly, the fourth division, which is introduced in the upper half of Sheet 22 in our manuscript, must now denote the *North*. And here in fact below the sign *moquatl*, 'Deer', we find *Miclantecuilli* the Death God, the Lord of the North, represented as sky-bearer, and before him the Deer (*moquatl*)

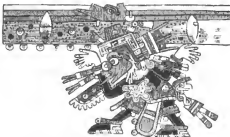


Fig. 281. *Quetzalcoatl*, the Wind God, Celestial God of the East. Codex Borgia 51 (= Kingsborough 64).

which is the sign of drought, and a rubber ball which symbolises the burnt-offering, and consequently fire also. The Death God, who in our manuscript is designed in the usual way, only with the addition of a gouged eye, is provided in Codex Borgia (Fig. 283) with a scops-owl's wing on his arms.

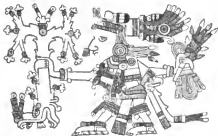


Fig. 282. *Xochipilli*, God of Flowers and Food Supplies, Earth God of the East. Codex Borgia 51 (= Kingsborough 64).

Before him, as Earth God of the North, strides *Cintéotl* the Maize God (Fig. 284), who, as always in the Codex Borgia group of manuscripts, is figured as a male deity, of yellow colour and with a peculiar black angular longitudinal band on his face, and on his back bearing his load of maize-ears. The *chisumacatl*, which he carries in his hand, is painted red. In his other hand, strange to say, he holds a throwing-stick, so that it looks as if here the *chisumacatl* was meant to be taken as the god's throwing-spear.

Now when we survey the general distribution of these eight gods to the quarters of the heavens, we are at once struck by the fact that in this series the Death God occurs twice, once in the North as sky-bearer or as Celestial God, and again in the South as rattle-bearer, as the Earth God. This twofold part, however, is also observed elsewhere in the manuscripts. While usually associated with the quarter of the North, this deity also indicates the quarter of the South in the series of the four gods who illustrate the crocotton of the length of the year.<sup>1</sup> It also seems somewhat remarkable that *Cintéotl*, God of the Maize-fruit, is

<sup>1</sup> Codex Borgia 12, 13; Codex Fejérvary-Mayer 33, 34 (= Kingsborough 12, 11), lower half; Codex Borgia 49-52 (= Kingsborough 66-67). Cf. Codex Fejérvary-Mayer, illustrated by Dr. Edward Seler, Berlin and London, 1901-1902, pp. 125, 170.

placed as Earth God for the North, which is elsewhere generally regarded as a region of drought. Still this is no solitary instance, and we shall see that in the series of the nine Lords of Night the Maize God in like manner indicates the quarter of the North beside the Death God. The other associations will be found justified at the first glance. For the planet Venus and the region of the West this is self-evident, and not less so for the god related to the Fire God and for the region of the South. And if *Quetzalcoatl* stands for



Fig. 283. *Miclantecuhtli*, the Death God, Celestial God of the North.  
Codex Bergia 52 (= Kingsborough 62).

the East we may still remember that he was identified with *Ceacatl*, the Morning Star. But *Xipe Totec* is in quite a special sense to be regarded as the Earth God, and is therefore rightly placed in the West, which is the region of the Earth in the stricter sense. Hence farther on we shall find the god *Xipe* with the guardians of the Venus periods everywhere associated with the quarter of the West.

The circumstance that the series of sky-bearers begins with the deity of the planet Venus, as representatives of the West, and also that the Celestial God of the East, *Quetzalcoatl*, is a figure which probably possessed astronomical significance, awakens the suspicion that the four sky-bearers are to be themselves understood as constellations. Four stars at the four ends of the firmament, as guardians or sustainers of the heavens, was undoubtedly a notion generally current amongst the Mexicans. It is an interesting fact that amongst one of the few Mexican tribes to this day living in primitive conditions and dominated by primitive conceptions,—the Huichols of the state of Jalisco—the traveller *Lyncholtz* found the same notion still prevalent. On a sort of celestial chart brought by him from these Indians we see figured in the West facing the Morning Star, by them called *tendemi*, the 'Singer,' a large solitary orb, *ruca* or *rucaimi*, which is supposed to be always visible in the sky, and after an annual revolution to come into conjunction with the Morning Star. And in the adjacent cross, in the North and South stand two other large stars, which according to one local authority were simply called *ruclite*, 'Stars,' and were one of those 'that at times fall down and break to pieces on the rocks when they try to kill a (cloud)-susko'; but according to another authority they stand there motionless as 'guardians of the world,' one being called the *téculi sédicitawí*, 'the Southern Grandfather,' the other *téculi góclawí*, 'the blue Grandfather.'

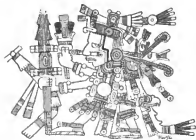


Fig. 284. *Coatlicue*, the Maize God, Earth God of the North.  
Codex Bergia 52 (= Kingsborough 62).

In the Chronicle of Tuzomoc, where the building of the great temple is spoken of, repeated mention is made of the *Tzitzimimé*. In one place we read that to finish the temple there were still wanting the *Tzitzimimé Ilhuicatzitziquique* 'angeles de aire, sostenedores del cielo,' which were also called *Peltacatzitziquique* 'tenedores del tapete de caña,' the six 'tenedores y sustentadores del cielo,'—the *Tzitzimimé*, the 'dioses de los aires que traian las lluvias, aguas, truenos y relámpagos y rayos, y habian de estar á la redonda de *Huitzilopochtli*,'<sup>1</sup> and that afterwards these 'dioses, signos y planetas,' called *Tzitzimimé*, were brought up to the temple and set in their place round about the idol *Uitzilopochtli*.<sup>2</sup> These 'tenedores y sustentadores del cielo' must correspond in their fundamental conception with the sky-bearers of our manuscripts, with our Figs. 275, 277, 281, 283. But by the *Tzitzimimé* we are undoubtedly to understand *stellar deities* who became demens of darkness only because during a solar eclipse the stars become visible in the day sky.<sup>3</sup> At the fifteenth *Tonalomatl* division, whose ruler is a female demon in butterfly form called *Itzapalotl*, the interpreter of Codex Telleriano-Remensis remarks:—'this *Itzapalotl* belongs to those who fell from heaven, namely the following: *Quetzalcoatl*, *Uitzilopochtli*, *Tzetzilipoca*, *Tzomotecutli*, *Yonaltzecutli* and *Tlanizcalpan tecutli*.<sup>4</sup> These are the sons of *Citlalticue* and *Citlaltatonac*.' And in another place, on the occasion of the *Quechalli* feast (which was kept in honour of a god who is to be regarded as related to the Morning Star), the same interpreter (Pedro de Bino) remarks that this feast is properly to be designated the *fall of the demons, of whom it is said that they are stars*, and that there are stars in the sky still called by their names, and they are the following: *Yacatecutli*, *Tlanizcalpantecutli*, *Ce acatl*, *Quetzalcoatl*, *Achitomell*, *Xacapancolqui*, *Miczoatl*, *Tzetzilipoca*, *Tzontemotli*. As gods, and before they fell from heaven, they had these names, and now they are called *tzitzimilli*, which is as much as to say something monstrous and frightful.

As we see from these various passages, it follows with certainty that by the 'upholders of the sky,' the *Tzitzimimé*, are to be understood *stellar deities*. But I think we may go further. It seems to me that these two just-quoted lists of the *Tzitzimimé* or stellar deities are to be brought into relation with each other and with the quarters of the heavens, and that they also agree fundamentally with the sky-bearers figured in our manuscript. Of course, in this case, it must be admitted that in the second of the above lists the names are grouped together in pairs, and that of the two lists one comprises six regions (quarters), the other five. On this assumption the two lists might be paralleled in the following way, where the agreement is seen to extend even to the sequence:—

I.	II.	
<i>Tlanizcalpan tecutli</i>	{ <i>Yacatecutli</i>	West
	{ <i>Tlanizcalpan tecutli</i>	
<i>Quetzalcoatl</i>	{ <i>Ce acatl</i>	East
	{ <i>Quetzalcoatl</i>	
<i>Uitzilopochtli</i>	{ <i>Achitomell</i>	South
	{ <i>Xacapan colqui</i>	
<i>Tzetzilipoca</i>	{ <i>Miczoatl</i>	North
	{ <i>Tzetzilipoca</i>	
<i>Tzomotecutli</i>		above
<i>Yonaltzecutli</i>	<i>Tzontemotli</i>	below

<sup>1</sup> In this and the following quotation the forms of the Mexican names are reproduced corrected.

<sup>2</sup> *Cronica Mexicana*, chap. xxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* chap. lx.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* chap. lxxi.

Cl. Chimalpaia. VII. Belacion: X teochi zihuitl, 1478 años . . . mak pa no sicutu pa candel tenechilli . . . machi neqpa pa candelito . . . mak pa no plicose pa neqpa pa tenechilli pa tenechilli. 'And in this same year "10 Rabbit" = 1478 A.D.

If, now, these two lists of the *Tzitzimimé* or stellar deities, as here paralleled with each other, be compared with the sky-bearers figured in our manuscripts, we see that the accordance is complete in the West and in the East, and likewise in the fifth quarter, for the figure pictured on Sheet 23 of our manuscript and in Codex Borgia reproduced at Fig. 274 is without doubt a *Tzontemoctli*, 'one tumbling head foremost downwards.' But in the North, where our manuscripts picture the Death God, the lists of Pedro de Rios have *Tzontotloque*. In the South the interpreter's second list has two little-known names. *Achítomelli* is mentioned by Torquemada as second king of Tollan. *Xocoyan calqui* I have hitherto met nowhere else, and I have a strong suspicion that the correct modern form should properly be *Xoyan calqui*, 'he in the House of Summer,' a name which would be suitable for a southern stellar form. Hence I cannot get much out of these two names. On the other hand, the name given in the first list, the familiar name of the tribal god of the Mexicans of Mexico City usually indicated as 'War God,' is really the name of a god of the South, as I had already occasion to explain in my elucidations of Codex Fejérváry-Mayer. For *Opochtlí* means the 'Left,' and for the Mexicans the region of the Left was the region of the South,—*ompi in imapochcapi tlalli nictouyus uitzaucaatlalpan*, 'the land on the left hand, which is called the land of the Uitzauca' (i.e. the South), occurs in Sahagun's Aztec text.<sup>1</sup> The brothers fought and vanquished by *Uitzilopochtli* are the *Centzon uitzauca*, the 'four hundred Southerners.' The *uitzitlilina*, also, the humming-bird, whose name is contained in the name of the god, and whose form served him as a disguise, has certainly as much to do with the *uitzauca*, the region 'of the Thorns,' i.e. the South, as we know it had with Summer, the rainy season, the season of the South.<sup>2</sup> Towards the South was also turned *Uitzilopochtli*'s great temple in the capital, Mexico. Now with this *Uitzilopochtli* it seems that the sky-bearer of the South in our two manuscripts has also to be brought into association. Certainly this god, as we have seen, shows in a general way the devices and the dress-badges of the Fire God. But he differs in his colour and his painting. And the colour and painting which he has in Codex Borgia—blue with longitudinal stripes on arms and legs—point decidedly to *Uitzilopochtli*, who after all is likewise a Fire God. Like the Fire God, he wears the *zincouananualli*, the 'turquoise snake disguise.' His feast, which comes to a head with the descent and burning of the snake *zincouanli*, is decidedly a fire feast. And in Codex Berthoulet the great fire feast, the solemn drilling of the new fire before the beginning of the new cycle of 52 years, is even deferred till the *Panquetzalistli* feast, the feast of *Uitzilopochtli*. It is of course not to be expected that the god *Uitzilopochtli* should be conceived and represented in these pictorial writings of the Codex Borgia group in exactly the same way as in the city of Mexico and in the paintings of the god executed after the advent of the Spaniards. But that a more general significance than that of a mere local fetish was attributed to this god must be at once inferred from the consideration that, however powerful they may have been at the time of the conquest, the inhabitants of the city of Mexico were nevertheless merely the heirs of an earlier culture, and felt that such was their status. This was the culture which bore the name of the Toltecs, to which a real historical existence must be assigned, and with which these pictorial documents of the Codex Borgia group were more closely connected than with the civilisation of a later historic period which came to the knowledge of the Spaniards in the city of Mexico.

Hence it was astronomic notions that created, or else appropriated, the beings which we see exhibited in these sky-bearers of the manuscripts, and also created or appropriated the beings which acquired a dominating position in the cult of the various (Mexican) tribes. How these notions themselves arose, and

there was a solar eclipse, all stars were visible, and at the same time the deities, the *Tzitzimimé*, appeared.' Cf. Sahagun viii. chap. 1: 'Y tambien en un tiempo (del dicho *Aztlantlan*) aconteció muy grande eclipse del sol a medio día: así por espacio de unas horas hubo muy grande obscuridad, porque aparecieron las estrellas y las grandes tierres grande modo, y decían que habían de descender del cielo unas monstruos que se dicen, *uitzimimé* que habían de comer á los hombres y á las mugeres.'

<sup>1</sup> Sahagun, book ix. chap. lii.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Mexican notion, in the dry season, in winter, the humming-bird hangs from a tree dead and featherless, and only awakens to new life in the rainy season, in summer. Cf. Sahagun, book xi. chap. ii. § 2.

in what form they became crystallised and handed on to later generations, we have no longer any certain means of knowing. But it is an interesting fact that these forms of the sky-bearers in our manuscripts



Fig. 285. Male Caryatid of Tlaxcala. 78 cm high. Philip J. Becker Collection, I.R. Natural History Court Museum, Vienna.



Fig. 286. Female Caryatid of Tlaxcala, 81 cm high. Philip J. Becker Collection, I.R. Natural History Court Museum, Vienna.

Fig. 287. Quetzalcoatl Caryatid. Found in Mexico during the excavations in the Calle de las Escalerillas.

occur also, it would seem, amongst the extant stone effigies. These are the statues in the form of Caryatides, which in my opinion are to be placed in the same category as the sky-bearers of the manuscripts. Such Caryatides have been found in the ancient prehistoric cultural centre of the city



of Tula. One of these, a male figure whose face looks out from the open jaws of a snake, has been figured by Peñafiel in his *Monumentos del Arte Mexicano Antiguo*, vol. i. plates 148-150. In the Tlaxcala district the late Philip J. Becker procured two stone Caryatides which are now preserved with the whole of his valuable collection in the Imperial Royal Natural History Museum, Vienna (Figs. 285, 286). And quite recently, during the excavations on the site of the Great Temple in Mexico, there was brought to light such another Caryatid, which represents the god *Quetzalcoatl*, that is, one of those figures which are everywhere included amongst the *Tzitzimimé* (Fig. 287). All these stone effigies are of decidedly archaic type. In fact, they convey the impression that they are the embodiment of notions which in an earlier cultural epoch were specially dominant. And one is here again all the more readily inclined to think of the legendary Toltecs, since a whole series of Caryatides, in appearance strikingly like one in the Becker collection, have been found by *Teobert Maler* and others<sup>1</sup> in Chichen-Itza, Yucatan, that is, in the very region whither the Toltecs are supposed to have gone, and on the very spot in the coastlands where the emigrant Nahuatl tribes appear to have left behind them some imposing monuments.<sup>2</sup>

## VIII. The Nine Lords of the Night Hours.

SHEETS 19-23 (= KINGSBOROUGH, 67-71). LOWER HALF.

In the *Tonalamatl* of the Aubin collection and of Codex Borbonicus, in the *Tonalamatl* of Codex Telleriano-Remensis and of Codex Vaticanus A (No. 3738), both arranged on the same principle, as well as in the *Tonalamatl* disposed in columns of five members which is exhibited on the first eight sides of Codex Bologna, in all these documents are seen, partly beside the compartments in which the 20 x 13 days of the *Tonalamatl* are figured with ciphers and signs (or with their signs above), partly in the same compartments with them, rows of nine heads of deities or else symbols of these deities, which accompany these 20 x 13 days in continuous repetition. The authors who have treated of the calendar of the ancient Mexicans—*Leon y Gama*, who drew his information from the historical work of *Cristóbal de Castillo* (an Indian of distinguished Tetzucan descent, who is said to have died 80 years old in 1606); *Jacinto de la Serna*, who flourished in the second half of the seventeenth century; and *Boturini*, who in his turn drew upon *Jacinto de la Serna*—call these nine gods the *nueve Acompañados* or the *nueve Señores ó dueños de la noche*, and give their names, which substantially agree with the names which are found inscribed with these heads in Codex Telleriano-Remensis and in Vatican A (No. 3738). They are the following:—

- I. *Xiuhtecuhtli*, The Fire God.
- II. *Itzli*, Stone Knife God.
- III. *Pultintecuhtli*, God of Princes (= *Tonatiuh*, Sun God).
- IV. *Cinteotl*, Maize God.
- V. *Mictlantecuhtli*, Lord of Hades.
- VI. *Chalchiuhtlicue*, Water Goddess.
- VII. *Tlaçolteotl*, Earth Goddess.
- VIII. *Tepeyollotli*, Heart of the Mountains, God of the Mountain Caves.
- IX. *Tlaloc*, Rain God.

<sup>1</sup> *Globe*, lxxxiii, Oct. 1865, pp. 279-281.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Seler*, 'Quetzalcoatl-Kukulcan in Yucatan,' *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxx, (1896), p. 388 seq. *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde*. Berlin (A. Asher & Co.), 1907, vol. 1, pp. 608-705.

The expression the 'nine Lords of the Night' current amongst the specified authors seems so far to hit the mark that, as I have endeavoured to show in my commentary on the *Tonalamatl* of the Aubin collection,<sup>1</sup> these nine gods seem to have been regarded as *Guardians of the nine Night Hours* in contradistinction to thirteen other gods and figures pictured in bird form who are in like manner shown accompanying the 20 x 13 days of the *Tonalamatl* in continuously repeated sequences, and appear to have represented for the priestly savants the guardians of the thirteen hours of the day.

In the manuscripts mentioned at the opening of this chapter, these nine gods, the Lords of the Night Hours, are everywhere introduced only as associates of the 20 x 13 days of the *Tonalamatl* in the same compartment with the sign of the days, or in a side compartment of a like somewhat reduced size. Hence here the heads alone might have been figured if it was really the intention merely to exhibit the characteristic devices of the various gods. But the editors of the Codex Borgia group of manuscripts have preferred to assign to these nine lords a special place for themselves. They were thus enabled to display the various persons in better and richer array and in full figure. For this purpose they have used the lower halves of Sheets 19-23 (= Kingsborough 62-71) of our manuscript. And to them corresponds in Codex Borgia the Sheet 14 (= Kingsborough 25), where these nine lords are introduced three each in three cross rows one above the other, and in such a way that the reckoning begins in the lowest row, running in this row from right to left, then in the middle cross row from left to right, and in the upper again from right to left. In both manuscripts, beside the figures of these nine lords, are given the pictures of the first nine day-signs, as it were to help in counting. A still larger space is occupied by the group of the nine lords in Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, where we find them not only distributed towards the five quarters of the heavens in the résumé, Sheet 1 (= Kingsborough 44), (cf. Fig. 265 *supra*, p. 77), but moreover see them further represented in larger figures and accompanied by all kinds of symbols on Sheets 2-4 (= Kingsborough 43-41).

In all these places the figures are characterised as the guardians of the night by the fact that with them is always pictured a bundle of firewood (*tlatlatilquashquetzalli*) with a rubber ball (*otlotlotli*) on which is attached a single quetzal feather, hence representing a *burnt-offering*, and this is either simply shown either before or beside them, or else is presented held high up (*ovina*) by the gods themselves. We know that in ancient Mexico stacks of wood blazed up at night on all the temples, that it was a special charge of the priests to feed these fires, and a chief duty of the young men, the bachelor warriors gathered in the *tepechealli*, to collect the fuel required in large quantities for these fires. In Codex Fejérváry the pictures of these gods present several peculiarities, which I have fully described in my elucidations of this manuscript.<sup>2</sup> The figures in our manuscript are more closely related to those of Codex Borgia, and in the following remarks I will briefly set forth what seems most noteworthy in these pictures.

In our manuscript the first day-count (*cipactli*, 'Crocodile') and the first of the nine lords, *Xiuhtecualli*, the Fire God, are shown on the left side of the lower half of Sheet 19; in Codex Borgia, as just stated, on the right side of the lowest cross row of Sheet 14 = Kingsborough 25 (Fig. 288). In both manuscripts the god is figured standing before a temple with a bundle of firewood and a rubber ball in his hand. In the temple in Codex Borgia (Fig. 288) is seen a second bundle of fuel, from which the flames flare out. In our manuscript the ridge of the temple roof is surmounted by pinnacles (*miczotli*, *miczotl*, that is, cloud effigies), and within it lie the implements of war (*yooyotl*):—shield, bundle of spears, and throwing-stick. For the Fire God is also the God of War. In both manuscripts the god himself is painted red (*motlauhocac*) with the lower half of his face black—a painting which we are to conceive as executed with heated rubber (*motenolepinticac*)—and a similar

<sup>1</sup> Berlin and London, 1900-1901, pp. 21-26.

<sup>2</sup> Berlin and London, 1901-1902, pp. 32-47.

black cross band at the level of his eye. The fillet, a strap set with jewelled disks (*chalchikstetelli*), is in the Codex Borgia figure (Fig. 288) ornamented on the frontal side with a cotinga bird (*xiuktatoll*) in that downward attitude, as if flying down, that we have already seen with the figure related to the Fire God (Fig. 277 *supra*, p. 86), and which is also shown in a strikingly similar manner with certain figures of the reliefs at Chichen-Itza in Yucatan. In the fillet are stuck two arrow-shafts which represent the *ome quamasualilli*, the two wooden drills, the fire-drill,—an ornament which in the descriptions of costumes appears to be indicated by the names *mitzontli*, *harockzontli*, 'arrow-wig,' 'spear-wig.' And lastly above this towers a tiara (*xiuktotomacalli*) broadening upwards. In Codex Borgia the god wears, attached to a long pendent necklace, a square plate, which is blue, hence executed in turquoise-mosaic, and is the usual breast ornament of the Fire God, such as we have also met with the above-mentioned figure (Fig. 277 *supra*, p. 86) related to the Fire God. On the other hand, in our manuscript to the necklace is fastened a disk-shaped breast ornament, but which is likewise painted a blue colour, hence executed in turquoise mosaic, and set with golden bells. Moreover, in our manuscript on the necklace is shown a blue bird with pointed bill (a cotinga? a humming-bird?),



Fig. 288. *Xiuktotelli*, the Fire God,  
First of the Nine Lords.  
Codex Borgia 14 (= Kingsborough 25).



Fig. 289. *Itzli Tezcatlipoca*,  
the Stone Knife God, Second of the Nine Lords.  
Codex Borgia 14 (= Kingsborough 25).

exactly as we have seen it with the figure related to the Fire God in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 20 in our manuscript. With the Codex Borgia figure the loincloth is red and edged with eagle feathers; in our manuscript we find a similar loincloth frequently given with the Sun God.

The second day-count (*cecall*, 'Wind') and the second of the nine lords *Itzli*, the Stone Knife God, stand in our manuscript in the right division of Sheet 19, in Codex Borgia in the middle of the lower cross row of Sheet 14 (Fig. 289). In our manuscript the god is recognised as *Itzli*, the Stone Knife God, by the fact that his face is looking out from the open jaws of a stone knife which, as is usual, is designed with teeth and the socket of an eye above them. In other respects both in our manuscript and in Codex Borgia the god is pictured as a black (*Tayauhqui*) *Tezcatlipoca*, with the yellow cross hands on his black face, the *izhon thalnan*, the children's facial painting (*pilneshinalli*) made with child's dirt (*conceuitlali*), whereby this god, like the Mexican *Utzilipochtli*, is characterised as a young god. In Codex Borgia the god is represented with his hair brushed up on one side over the brow, the warriors' hair-dressing *tatzocueyax*, and the forked heron-feather ornament (*axtzealli*) in his hair, this being part of the warriors' dancing attire, but which, owing to the stone-knife mark, could not be given in our manuscript. But in both manuscripts the smoking mirror at the temple, the special device of the god *Tezcatlipoca*, is reproduced boldly and distinctly. In our manuscript the clouds of

smoke attain a somewhat extravagant height, and are set with featherwork. In both manuscripts, in the hole pierced in the nasal septum, is further seen the blue red (*riukyaemil*), from which a little plate falls over the mouth, and should have properly been shown in profile, but, like the eye, is drawn in full. In both manuscripts also he wears on his breast, fastened to two strong red-leather straps, the white ring, the *teawitlanauatl*, an ornament which in Codex Fejérvári, and not rarely also in our manuscript, is drawn simply as a large round eye, and is without doubt also intended to represent such an eye with its pupil and the conjunctiva in the inner angle standing out in a red colour. For *Tezcatlipoca* is above all the observer. Of him we read in the texts *vel teitic tlamati, nati, 'y sahia los secretos que tenian en los corazones.'* In the Sahagún manuscript he carries the *tlachieloni*, the 'seeing implement,' which possibly represents nothing more than this eye or the ring *amauatl* set up on a pole. On his back, as a luck device (*tlamamalli*), *Tezcatlipoca*, as indeed this second also of the nine lords (Fig. 289), wears a large imposing feather adornment, which in the descriptions of costumes takes the name of *quetzalcomil*, 'quetzal-feather pot.' Lastly, the most striking distinctive mark of the god *Tezcatlipoca*, the rindled foot replaced by a smoking mirror, is clearly recognised in both manuscripts. In the Codex Borgia figure (Fig. 289) the lambent flames at the stump of the leg are combined with a large water-vessel, and the mirror from which issue the clouds of flame or smoke is in our manuscript painted the colour of water. This is a proof that here also, as may be more distinctly seen in the *Tezcatlipoca* figures of Codex Telleriano-Remensis, it was intended to represent water and fire, *atl-tlachinalli*, that is, the symbol of war, that the so-called smoking mirror which is shown at the temple of the god's head, and in diverse mortifications at the stump of his leg, is itself nothing more than a symbol of war. It is further remarkable that in the Codex Borgia figure (Fig. 289) the second foot of the god is also missing, and is replaced by a stone knife from which green and yellow feathers run down. In the Codex Fejérvári picture of *Itzli*, second of the nine lords, the one foot exhibited as missing or torn off is stuck in the throat of a stone knife. It would therefore seem as if the Codex Borgia figure (Fig. 289) were intended to exhibit simultaneously the two ways in which it was usual to figure *Tezcatlipoca's* severed foot in the picture-writings.

Like the preceding figure, this second of the nine lords likewise presents with uplifted hands a burnt-offering, a bundle of firewood and a rubber ball. In our manuscript the bundle of firewood is wrapped in a black material answering to the colour and the nature of the god. The first of the nine lords, the Fire God, was pictured standing before a temple. But the places of worship of *Tezcatlipoca*, the dark, the nocturnal, the wizard in a pre-eminent sense, were the crossways (*ámacae*). In our two manuscripts we accordingly see such a crossway figured before this second of the nine lords. On it we notice in Codex Borgia a burnt-offering, a bundle of firewood and a green bunch from which the flames shoot up. By the green bunch are probably meant pine-branches (*cezoatl*), to deposit which on the altars (earth pyramids, *monocelli*) of the god was a favourite act of worship paid especially to *Tezcatlipoca*. In our manuscript a jaguar (*ocotli*) hit by a spear crouches on the crossway, by which the werewolf, the magician (*nauatl*), was doubtless meant to be indicated. For in the popular imagination these magicians were wont to indulge in their uncanny practices by night in the form of jaguars.

The third day-count (*calli*, 'House') and the third of the nine lords, *Piltzanteotli*, that is, *Tonatiuh*, the Sun God, stand in our manuscript in the left division of Sheet 20, in Codex Borgia on the left side of the lower cross row of Sheet 14. In this instance the Codex Borgia figure (Fig. 290) is less characteristic. We see a warrior with his hair brushed up on one side (*totococoteyac*) in the same way as we have just had to notice it with *Tezcatlipoca*, representative of the second of the nine lords (Fig. 289). But here body and limbs are painted red, his face on the lower half also red, on the upper yellow. In the original the part about the corner of the eye is encircled by a line, which however stands out rather faintly. This is a device which in other places, too, of this manuscript is given

with the Sun God, but likewise with *Xochipilli* (the god with the butterfly form on his mouth). A small square field, which is still perceptible below the eye on the yellow upper half of the face, is properly a badge of *Xochipilli*, *Tonacotecuilli*, and the Maizo Gods. We also see it on the cloth, which the god, after the manner of the Maizo Gods, has wrapped round his hips. In the pierced nasal septum the Sun God wears everywhere in Codex Borgia a rod which is formed from the elements of the hieroglyph *chalehuaitl*, 'Green Jewel,' hence is a *chalehuayacamiltl*. His nape and back ornament is formed by a large disk or rosette and a wrap falling over the back, both similarly painted in the colours of the hieroglyph *chalehuaitl*; and the same design is also shown at the ends of the loin-cloth. For as with the Mexican nobles the ends of the loin-cloth were ornamented in accordance with the rank and position of the wearer, so also with the gods. Lastly, on his breast the Codex Borgia Sun God wears a large gold disk (*tococitlacomalli*).

In our manuscript the third of the nine lords is painted simply red with flame-coloured hair. On the frontal side of the fillet we see the conventional bird's head, which is in fact of very frequent occurrence with pictures of the Sun God. On his head lies a feather decoration (*uitemalli*) whose chief constituent is



Fig. 290. Tzacuich-Palintecuilli, the Sun God,  
Third of the Nine Lords.  
Codex Borgia 14 (= Kingsborough 25).



Fig. 291. Cinteotl, the Maizo God,  
Fourth of the Nine Lords.  
Codex Borgia 14 (= Kingsborough 25).

formed by two eagle's feathers, hence it is a *quauhtemalli*, and from it hang out two long bands which are hairy on one side, as if consisting of skin. This also is a characteristic mark of the Sun God in this group of manuscripts. The nasal rod is provided, like that of *Tzacatlipoca*, with a plate falling over the mouth. On his breast the god seems to wear an ornament similar to that shown in this manuscript by the Fire God, first of the nine lords.

In both manuscripts this third of the nine lords is figured standing before a temple and presenting a burnt-offering, a bundle of firewood and rubber ball. In our manuscript the various structural parts of the temple are painted quite in the colours of the jewel (*chalehuaitl*), and on the roof-ridge (painted in the same way) are set a row of jewelled disks as pinnacles. In the temple with the Codex Borgia figure (Fig. 290) is seen an incense-burner set with jags which resembles the vessels figured at p. 30 *supra*, and contains a rubber ball. In our manuscript, on the contrary, the whole of the usual burnt-offering, bundle of fuel or rubber ball, lies within the temple, before which is seen a small human figure presenting a burning rubber ball.

At sunrise the Sun God, as Sahagun relates,<sup>1</sup> was invoked with incense-burning, and blood and quails were presented to him with the words:—'The sun has risen, the burner (*tonacotl*), the turquoise child (the

<sup>1</sup> Sahagun, book II. Appendix.

young Fire God, *ziukpiltoulli*), the soaring eagle (*quauhtleoumiltl*). We know not how he will end his course; we know not whether any harm may not befall the people.' Then turning to the god they prayed: —'Lord, do thy work unto a blessing for us.' Moreover incense was again burnt to the Sun, altogether four times during the day, and five times at night as to the *Youlltecutli*, the Lord of Night.

The fourth sign (*cuetspauilli*, 'Lizard') and the fourth of the nine lords, *Cintéotl*, 'the Maize God,' stand in our manuscript on the right side of Sheet 20, in Codex Borgia in the left division of the middle cross row of Sheet 14. In the manuscripts of the Codex Borgia group the Maize God is in most cases a male deity who is painted a yellow colour, and distinguished by a peculiar angular black longitudinal band on his face. The picture drawn by Codex Borgia of this god as the fourth of the nine lords (Fig. 291) is clearly recognised as the Maize God by the maize-ears and the maize-bloom which he wears on his fillet or on his head. In other respects his adornment resembles that of the Sun God in its flame-coloured hair, the jewelled head-strap with the conventional bird's head on the frontal side, the large gold disk (*teocuitlacomalli*) on his breast, and on his nape the rosette painted in the colours of the green jewel (*chalchihuitl*).

The god in our manuscript is more specialised. Here he wears on his head a notched crown (*amacalli*) like that of the Earth, Mountain, and Rain Gods. But it is painted green and yellow, the colours of the maize, and fastened with a tie at the occiput (*tlaguelcapanyohtl*), which is painted in like colours, and again somewhat resembles that of the Earth, Mountain, and Rain Gods, and as with the Rain Gods, shows the long dark hair hanging down from under it. On his breast he wears, attached to a chain of jewelled beads, an ornament which is painted in the colours of the green jewel (*chalchihuitl*), and from which hang jewelled thongs. The loin-cloth is again in the colours of the maize, showing alternate yellow and green cross bands.

Like the other members of this series, the Maize God also presents with upraised hands a burnt-offering, bundle of firewood and rubber ball, which in our manuscript is again put up in a wrap painted green and yellow, the colours of the maize, and studded with jags. Instead of a temple, before this god is drawn a flowering tree which at the tips of the two upper branches bears large sunflowers, while the root end has the form of a reptile's jaws biting into the ground. At the stem of the tree are again introduced a burnt-offering, a bundle of firewood and three large yellow feathers. In our manuscript the stem of the tree is formed by a large head of *Tlaloc* (that is, the Rain God), above which shoot up maize leaves and inflorescent maize-ears. Before it a burnt-offering is suggested by a rubber ball surmounted with a bunch of variegated feathers.

The fifth day-count (*cuauhtl*, 'Snake') and the fifth of the nine lords, *Mictlantecutli*, the Death God, stand in our manuscript on the left side of the lower half of Sheet 21, in Codex Borgia in the midst of the middle cross row of Sheet 14. In both manuscripts is drawn a skeleton with a skeletal thorax and a skull for its head. But in our manuscript at arms and legs the bony structure is merely indicated by a yellow colour and a black design, whereas Codex Borgia paints both arms and legs a bone colour—white with yellow spots picked out in red. The ornamentation consists of a large rosette at the occiput (*cuzecechtechimalli*) and a flag curved round (*patoyouacalli*), both painted in alternate white and red cross bands, a painting shown also by the ends of the loin-cloths and by the ends of other bands and stripes. In our manuscript the skeleton is further clothed, as generally in this manuscript, with a jacket of green *malinalli* blades, and wears in its ear a strip of unspan cotton. To all this is added as back device a pot in which three flags are stuck.

This god, too, presents his burnt-offering. But his places of worship are naturally those eerie sites, the crossways (*omaxtec*) where hoots the scops-owl, the bird of death. Both crossway and death-bird are accordingly figured before the god in both manuscripts, the owl being set round with paper flags, the decoration of corpses packed up for cremation. The burnt-offering, consisting only of a bundle of fuel,

lies in a dish which in Codex Borgia is painted black with white crosses. For the cross, originating with the cross-bones, a symbol familiar also to the Mexicans, was for them likewise an emblem of death. As *Nictlotecatl* is the God of Cremation, this dish containing the burnt-offering is moreover set round with two additional bundles of firewood.

The sixth day-count (*miquiltli*, 'Death') and the sixth of the nine lords (*Chalchihuitlicue*), Goddess of Flowing Water, stand in our manuscript on the right side of the lower half of Sheet 21, in Codex Borgia

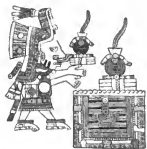


Fig. 292. *Chalchihuitlicue*, the Water Goddess, Sixth of the Nine Lords. Codex Borgia 14 (= Kingsborough 25).



Fig. 293. *Tlapalcuotl*, the Earth Goddess, Seventh of the Nine Lords. Codex Borgia 14 (= Kingsborough 25).

in the right division of the middle cross row of Sheet 14. In Codex Borgia (Fig. 292) the goddess is figured in the same characteristic and typical way as everywhere in this manuscript—face overtopped by a snake's throat which forms her helmet-mask; face itself painted yellow, the colour of women, but with two short broad bands of a deep black colour on the lower edge of the cheek, which are also met on Mexican stone effigies of this goddess indicated by sharply rectangular edged carvings. In Sahagun's chapter on the attire of the gods this style of painting is not assigned to *Chalchihuitlicue* herself, but to an apparently related though otherwise unknown goddess, *Tzapotlan tenan*, 'Mother of *Tzapotlan*,' who passed for the discoverer of the serpentine salve (*axitl*), and is designated in the text as *one quipillo*, 'she has two (drops) hanging down.' In her case the goddess of Codex Borgia (Fig. 292) wears an ornament of a blue colour which ends off on both sides with a snake's head, but is here not very distinctly drawn. The goddess is clothed in a hip covering (*cucitl*) whose lower half shows the colour and design of the hieroglyph of the green jewel (*chalchihuitl*). From this is in fact derived her very name *Chalchihuitlicue*, which means 'of the green jewel (*chalchihuitl*) consists her *cuagua* (*icua*).' The same elements of the hieroglyph *chalchihuitl* are also shown by the wrap which covers the back of the goddess. Lastly, on her breast she wears a large gold disk (*teocuitlacomalli*) attached to a jewelled string falling low down.

The goddess is not drawn quite so characteristically in our manuscript. The *cuagua* certainly appears to be painted with the elements of the hieroglyph *chalchihuitl*. But the face is simply yellow, and the nasal plate, blue and step-shaped, is in form and colour like that with which the goddesses *Xochiquetzal*, *Chantico*



Fig. 293a. *Tlapalcuotl*, the Earth Goddess, Seventh of the Nine Lords. Codex Vaticanus 2572, Sheet 22 (= Kingsborough 70).

and others are figured. We also miss the helmet-mask formed of a snake's throat, which gives such a marked appearance to the Codex Borgia goddess, and is also found with the *Chalchihuitlicue* figure of Codex Fejérváry-Mayer. The crown worn by the goddess of our manuscript somewhat resembles the one which we have met with the Fire God, first of the nine lords in our manuscript. In particular the two arrow-shafts which in the crown of the Fire God indicate the *ome quansumakilli*, the two sticks of the fire-drill, seem to be here likewise given. It is possible that this *Chalchihuitlicue* figure of our manuscript has been equipped with functional badges that properly belong to *Chantico*, the Fire Goddess of *Xochimilco*. But possibly also this intermingling of insignia has taken place because the flowing water (*atl*), of which this goddess was regarded as the expression and embodiment, suggested the *atl tlachinolli*, the 'water (properly spear-throwing) and conflagration,' the symbolic indication of war, the expression and representative of which is this very Fire God, as will be seen.

In Codex Borgia (cf. Fig. 292) a water-vessel is displayed before this goddess, who like the other figures of the series also brings her burnt-offering. The fluid in the vessel, painted the colour of water, is enclosed



Fig. 294. *Haastee*, the Haastee Servants of *Tetzio* (*tezoo*), who form her cortège at the *Ookpouitli*, the Brown Feast. Codex Borbonicus 30.

by a wide red and a narrow white fringed border, so that the blue fluid again forms the nucleus of a *chalchihuitl* ('Green Jewel') hieroglyph. And in order to give still more distinct expression to this intention, the *chalchihuitl* hieroglyph is once more exhibited in the fluid as a half-disk and on a thong projecting from it upwards. This is doubtless to be regarded in the first place as the simple expression of the real value of this element for the existence of man, but may again have also the hidden meaning that at the sight of water the pious should think of the jewel-water (*chalchihuitl*) which, as we shall see, denoted the blood which they drew from themselves at the religious exercises, and presented to the gods. Then in our picture, floating on the foaming surface of the water, is again seen the burnt-offering, a bundle of firewood and a large rubber ball. In our manuscript the goddess stands right in the water, which is painted in the usual way, and surrounds two sides of the compartment. Into it descends a feather-snake (*quetzalcoatl*) which receives the burnt-offering in its open jaws.

The seventh day-count (*maqutl*, 'Deer') and the seventh of the nine lords, the goddess *Tlaqolteotl*, stand in our manuscript in the left division of the lower half of Sheet 22, in Codex Borgia on the right side of the upper cross row of Sheet 14. *Tlaqolteotl* means 'Goddess of Dirt,' and to this name corresponds the other, *Tlaolquani*, the 'Filtl-eater,' the 'Sinner.' For this goddess was the representative of women and of sensual pleasure. Her protection was invoked by the adulterer, who wished to be rid of his sin and of the punishment imposed upon it. And he obtained this protection by going to confess his sin to the priests of



this goddess and performing the penance enjoined on him by them. The obscene character which clings to this goddess also finds expression, as we shall see, in several pictures in our manuscript; but above all in the large picture which Codex Borbonicus presents of the feast which was celebrated in honour of the goddess at the end of the rainy season, at harvest time, which bore the name of *Ochpanistli*, 'Broom Feast,' and at which the followers of this goddess, her 'Huastec Servants' (*icuztlan*), are seen moving about with huge phalluses (Fig. 294). This remarkable goddess, who was moreover honoured and feared as the great Earth Goddess (*Talli iyollo*), perhaps even as the Earthquake Goddess, who received the names of *Toci*, 'our Grandmother,' and *Tete inaan*, 'Mother of the Gods,' hence was looked upon and worshipped as the All-begotter, Mother of Gods and Men,<sup>1</sup> appears to have had her home amongst the tribes of the Atlantic seaboard. At least Sahagun expressly states<sup>2</sup> that she was venerated especially by the *Cuasteco*, the Huastecs, the inhabitants of the north coast of Vera Cruz, and by the *Mixteco* and *Omeca*, who, according to his nomenclature, were the inhabitants of the south coast of Vera Cruz. On the other hand his native authorities were unable to tell him whether this goddess was also known amongst the western tribes, the peoples of *Mechoacan*, while he distinctly denies that the *Chichimeca*, that is, the hunting tribes of the North, paid her any worship.

In the songs the goddess is hailed as the *coyauic zochitla*, 'the yellow Bloom,' and *ixac zochitla*, 'the white Bloom,' the *tonana teumehcane*, 'our Mother, the goddess of the thigh-skin-face-painting,'<sup>3</sup> or as the *ti soci teumehcane*, 'thou, my Grandmother, thou goddess of the thigh-skin-face-painting,' 'she who dwelleth in the *Temoanchan*, 'the House of the Descent,' which, perhaps, properly means 'the House of Birth,' the *Xochitl icacn*, 'the place where are the flowers,' that is, the paradise of food supplies, the home of maize, the West, where of her there was born the Maize God (*Cinteotl*), the god *Ce zochitl*, 'one Flower':—

*yooc ye tonan, ye teul tlaxolteutla*  
*oaya, ooyayave*

Our Mother, the goddess *Tlaxolteutl*, did arrive.

*otlatcqui centeul tamiyocn icacni*  
*zochitl icacani ce zochitli*  
*yantala, yantala, ayyao ayyave*  
*tiliti yao ayiave ayyave*

The Maize God is born in the House of the Descent,  
in the place where are the flowers, the god 'one Flower.'

*otlatcqui centeul, atl yayavicani*  
*tlacupillachivaloyu chalchimickuocn*  
*yyao, yantala, yantala, ayyao ayyave*  
*tiliti yao, ayyave ayyave*

The Maize God is born in the place of water and of mist,  
where the children of man are made, in the *Jewel-Michuacn*.

*Tlaxolteutl*, seventh of the nine Lords of Night, is in Codex Borgia quite naked, and pictured with a snake beside her (Fig. 293), just as at Figs. 35-36 *supra*, p. 19, we found the penitent schilteer pictured

<sup>1</sup> Sahagun, book vi. chap. vii.

<sup>2</sup> The identity of the goddess bearing the names of *Toci* and *Tete inaan* with the *Tlaxolteutl* of Sahagun and the interpreters of the Calendar I first pointed out in my paper: 'die Tageszeiten der aztekischen und der Maya-Handschriften' [Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, xx. (1888), p. 28. Cf. Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde. Berlin (A. Asher & Co.), 1902, vol. 1, p. 425.

<sup>3</sup> *Cantares que decian a honra de los dioses en los tiempos de suera dellos.* (Sahagun MS. Bibl. del Palacio) iv. l. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *It.* xix. l. 11.

<sup>5</sup> *It.* xiv. l. 10.

naked and with a snake beside him. The goddess has the facial painting peculiar to *Tlayotlotl*, a rubber patch in the region of the mouth (*motencapinticote*), which stands out in deep black from the yellow colour of the rest of the face. But in the pictures of the Codex Borgia group there is generally lacking another distinctive mark which is prescribed for the face of the goddess in the chapter on the dress of the gods in the Sahagun manuscript, that is, a disk similarly made of liquid rubber, a kind of plaster (como un parche redondo) on her cheek, which in the Aztec text is called *tlaxapochli* in *contlatitlac yacamapan*. On the other hand, the fillet of unspun cotton (*ichezochiltl*), with the inserted spindle which Sahagun describes with the dress of *Teteo inman*, is quite regularly given, as here also in Codex Borgia (Fig. 293), and, as is usual, a similar band of unspun cotton hangs out of the hollow plug which the goddess has stuck in the lobe of her ear. Over the nape of the goddess hangs a feather ornament, which as a rule consists of yellow feathers projecting far out, and described by Sahagun as *coyotenalli*, 'palm-leaf-feather-bunch.' The blue feathers shown in our picture (Fig. 293) in the nape ornament of the goddess are meant for feathers of the quail (*colin*), who is the Earth bird and the bird of the Earth Gods. Lastly, in the pierced nasal septum the goddess wears the golden nasal crescent (*yacamettli*), the Huastec ornament which, besides her, is likewise worn by the Pulque Gods, those being also regarded as Huastec deities.

The sheet in our manuscript also shows us a naked female figure and beside her a snake, which winds out from between her legs (Fig. 293a). But the body and face are painted white, only with the yellow longitudinal stripes, which are similarly shown on other figures of our manuscript, who are, properly speaking, supposed to be painted white. The eye has the narrow slit form without pupil, as is usually given with the *Xipe* pictures, in order to indicate the slit for the eye in the mask of human skin worn by this god before his face. And in the nasal septum, too, the *Tlayotlotl* of our manuscript wears a rod, which by its ends, forked swallow-tail fashion, shows itself to be a part of *Xipe Totee's* dress and adornment. *Xipe Totee*, 'our Lord the Flayed,' who is undoubtedly to be regarded as an Earth God, and *Tlayotlotl* are in fact two closely related figures. The other decorations, fillet of unspun cotton (*ichezochiltl*) with the inserted spindles, the band of unspun cotton hanging out from the ear-plug, and the fan or wing-like nape adornment, resemble those of the Codex Borgia figure.

Like the other members of this series, *Tlayotlotl* also presents with her hands a burnt-offering, a bundle of firewood and rubber ball. But as her place of worship before her is again figured a crossway (*otlinoxac*), as with *Tetzcallipoca*, the second member, and with the Death God, fifth god of this series. On the crossway is seen a black vessel, and in it a second bundle of firewood. But in Codex Borgia the latter bears a packed corpse studded with paper bannerets, the decoration of the dead. For the Earth Goddess is also she who takes the dead to her bosom. In our manuscript two arrow-shafts, symbol of the fire-drill, seem to be figured on the bundle of firewood; and beside it are seen other bundles which are meant to represent faggots or perhaps also bunches of grass. For this goddess wears as her badge the broom (*izquitzli* or *popoll*).<sup>1</sup> Her feast is called the *achpaniztli*, the 'Sweep-the-way,' and her attendants—*ca sacatl cu popoll yn immac tetentluc keco tlacozilli*, 'grass, broom, blood-sprinkled, have they in their hands.'<sup>2</sup>

The eighth day-count (*tochtli*, 'Rabbit') and the eighth of the nine lords, *Tepryollotli*, the 'Heart of the Mountains,' stand in Codex Borgia in the middle division of the upper row of Sheet 14, in our manuscript on the first side of the lower half of Sheet 22.

The name of this god is unknown from other sources. We learn of no place where a god of this name has been honoured. Farther on we shall also meet him as lord of the third day-count and of the third *Tonalamattl* division. As we shall see, there he presents himself in the form of a jaguar, and with badges

<sup>1</sup> Sahagun, I. chap. I. 20. Bibl. del Palacio.

<sup>2</sup> Sahagun, II. chap. 222. 20. Bibl. del Palacio.

of *Teocitlipoca*, and by the interpreters he is explained as 'lord of the animals' ('señor de los animales'), and as the '*Echo in the Mountains*' ('el retumbo de la voz, cuando retumba en un valle de un cerro al otro'). And it is added that this name of jaguar is given to the Earth, because the jaguar is the wildest of beasts, and this echo in the mountains 'dates from the Flood' ('quedó del diluvio'), that is, the god of this name is declared to be one of the primeval gods.

It would really appear that in order to understand and explain this figure we have to start from the jaguar (*ocelotl*). It is but natural that this strong, wild, and dangerous beast, especially in the regions where it abounds, in the woods of the Tierra caliente, enjoyed a superstitious worship, based essentially on fear and blended with fear. Thus it is related of the Indians of the Vera Paz district (Guatemala) that, when they met a jaguar, instead of attacking him or running away, they knelt down and began to confess their sins, whereupon the jaguar naturally devoured the unresisting simpletons<sup>1</sup>. The tribes of the uplands came into less direct contact with the jaguar. But not so the itinerant traders, who brought the products of the great

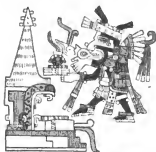


Fig. 293. *Tepeyollotli*, Heart of the Mountains, God of the Caves, Eighth of the Nine Lords. Codex Borinca 14 (= Kingsborough 25).



Fig. 295a. *Tepeyollotli*, Heart of the Mountains, God of the Caves, Eighth of the Nine Lords. Codex Vaticanus 3772, Sheet 22 (= Kingsborough 70).

industrial centres of the uplands to *Ahuauac*, that is, the coastlands, in order there to exchange them for cacao, ornamental objects, gold, precious stones, and slaves. Accordingly the jaguar plays a conspicuous part, at least in the imagination even of the Mexicans proper. And it was no doubt the experience, real or imaginary, of the travelling merchants that directly inspired what we find in Sahagun's fifth book, where the roar of the jaguar in the mountains is given as the first of ominous forebodings<sup>2</sup>:-

in <i>iquae aca quicayua</i>	when one heard,
in <i>tequani ehora</i>	the jaguar roar,
<i>tequani ipan ehora</i> :	a roar as of a jaguar,
in <i>inkui teecitli quipitza</i> :	as when one blows a shell-horn,
<i>tepetl quivanquilia</i> :	the mountains answer (re-echo),
<i>tehuiva tlavalania</i> :	bellow,
<i>inkuina itamapul choca</i> :	as an old woman bawls.

It should here be noted that the roar of the jaguar is distinctly brought into association with the *Echo in the Mountains*, with the *tepeyollotli*. And we shall presently see that in the pictures of our god *Tepeyollotli* expression is also given to yet another trait in this description—the comparison

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas. *Historia Apologética*, chap. cxxix, (cf. *Ileones* 7. 4. p. 374) and *Horrea* 4. 10. chap. xlii.

<sup>2</sup> Sahagun, v, chap. i.

with the sound of the conch (*teccitli*). For the Mexicans the jaguar was pre-eminently the tearing, the 'devouring' beast. *Tequani*, a familiar name of the jaguar occurring in this very passage, means properly 'he that devours the people'. For the Mexicans the jaguar was likewise the animal that devours the Sun,—when the *tonatinhuaco* appeared, the dreadful time when in broad daylight the Sun was eclipsed. And thus the jaguar became an emblem of *night*, and of darkness, and of the Earth. And we shall presently see that especially the mouth of the Earth, the *cave*, was brought into relation with this god, who was regarded as the seat of his worship.

The pictures of this god, even where he is not exactly figured as an animal, a jaguar, are always stamped with a wild, brutish expression. This is shown especially in the prominent eyebrows or superciliary arches, in the long beard and hair and the mouth open to roar. As eighth of the nine lords he is depicted in Codex Borgia (Fig. 295) with black limbs and a peculiar face-painting, which in the posterior half consists of the alternating yellow and black cross bands (*ixtlan tatlalan*) of *Tescatlipoca's* facial painting, in the other half (the middle of the face) shows the colour of ordinary human skin, but with jaguar-skin design round about the whole mouth. The latter unfortunately is not clearly reproduced in Fig. 295. In the nostrils a button is inserted on both sides, this being an ornament which appears to have been peculiar to the tribes of the Pacific *Tierra caliente*, the region of Tehuantepec, Soconusco, and the Pacific side of Guatemala. We see it pictured with the figure which in Codex Mendoza serves as the hieroglyph of the city of *Xochitlan* in the vicinity of Tehuantepec (Fig. 297). And I have met it quite frequently with the clay figures which I have collected in these districts (cf. Fig. 298), and also farther inland, in the district of Nenton on the frontiers of Chiapas and Guatemala.<sup>1</sup> The hair of Fig. 295 is arranged on top of the head in two separately pleated tresses, and moreover hangs far down at the side of the body. The ear ornament is a square plate with projecting band, like that of the Rain God *Tlaloc*. The rest of the array, the ends of the loin-cloth and the stripe hanging down over the back, also recalls the Rain God *Tlaloc*, being painted in the same colours—alternately green and *olpiguamar*, that is, spotted with fluid rubber. Lastly, before its mouth the Codex Borgia figure has a marine snail's shell (*teccitli*), that is to say, the god *blows the shell-horn* (*teccitli quipitza*).



Fig. 296. *Tepeyollotli*, Eighth of the Nine Lords. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 4 (= Kingsborough 41).

The figure in our manuscript, on the right side of the lower half of Sheet 22, is not quite so clearly drawn (295a). With this figure the ground colour is red; but a cross band at the level of the eye is painted yellow. The mouth open to roar is also surrounded by a yellow line. I was formerly of opinion that this, combined with the band running above the eye, produced the *ixtlan tatlalan*, i.e. *Tescatlipoca's* facial painting. Now, however, it seems to me more probable that the yellow line about the mouth is to be taken as a *jaguar-skin design*, as with the Codex Borgia figure (Fig. 295). On the whole the facial painting of the *Tepeyollotli* in the Vatican manuscript decidedly recalls that of the Bat God, who is the next to be described, and in our manuscript is likewise painted a red colour. The above-mentioned head-like plug in the nostrils appears to be also shown with the *Tepeyollotli* of our Vatican. Still it is somewhat in keeping with the blue disks which are attached to the frontal strap of the god. The hair stands high up above the fillet in separate locks, between

<sup>1</sup> Selser, Die alten Ausgrabungen von Chuculú in Distrikte Nenton—den Departamente Hochzotango der Republik Guatemala. Berlin. (Dietrich Reimar.) 1901. Pp. 71, 72, 106, 117, 149.

which are drawn jewelled straps—the ends of the head-bands? A further lock falls down by the side of the head, and is perhaps to be supposed hanging down behind. This lock is distinctly shown drawn at the base through a ring or a disk. It is a peculiarity of the friero which is found still more clearly indicated with the Codex Fejérváry figure (Fig. 296) presently to be described. As already stated the mouth is open as about to roar. The shell-horn about the mouth is missing, and instead of it he wears a snail's shell or a shell-horn (*teecitli*) as a breast ornament. And a second horn lies before him at the threshold of the temple, so that with this Codex Vatican figure also conch-blowing receives the fullest expression. In one hand the god holds a bone dagger (*omistl*), in the other a bunch of grass and something that looks like a round fan, but might perhaps also be a ring set with bells.

With the *Tepeyollotli* figure of Codex Fejérváry (Fig. 296) body and limbs as well as the ends of the loin-cloth are painted white and blue, that is, presumably in the colours of *Tlaloc*. But the face is red as with the Vatican figure, and like this also a yellow cross band is shown at the level of the



Fig. 297.  
Hieroglyph Xochitlan.  
Codex Mendoza.

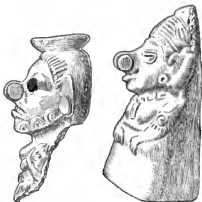


Fig. 298. Clay Figures from the Finca Pompeya at Antigua in Guatemala.

eye which is overshadowed by the prominent frontal ridge. Here the nasal ornament is a rod which has a rosette at one end. Characteristic is the lock of hair hanging far down at the side of the head, properly no doubt at the back, and this lock, as with the Vatican figure, is drawn at the base through a ring or a disk, but falls down so far that the god is obliged to hold it like a train in his hand.

In the pictures of the Codex Borgia and of Codex Fejérváry the god, like the other figures of the series, presents a burnt-offering—in Codex Borgia a bundle of firewood and a rubber ball, in Fejérváry a rubber ball only. And another burnt-offering, bundle of fuel and rubber ball, lies at the threshold of the temple, which is figured opposite him. This temple of *Tepeyollotli* has a most remarkable form, at least in the Codex Borgia and the Fejérváry pictures (Figs. 295, 296). It shows a high, pointed, cone-shaped roof thatched with grass or strips of palm-leaves, as is in fact still customary with the *Jacales* (thatched coots) of the rainy Atlantic Tierra caliente. And this roof is surmounted by another small conic pointed one, set with jugs and made of a different material (clay? stone?), to which in the Fejérváry picture is given a shape bent backwards, almost recalling the *isthacskuhqui*—hat of the God of Stone, of Cold, and of Punishment. In Codex Borgia (Fig. 295) the doorway of this temple is formed by the

jaw of a large reptile (a snake's jaw?). This can surely be more a decoration, an architectural peculiarity of the district which the designer of these figures had in his eye. I recall the fact that in *Chichen-Itza* and other places in the Maya country, the posts supporting the lintel were worked in the form of snakes, the tip of the tail forming the upper end of the post, while the snake's head with its open throat lies extended on the ground beyond the base of the post. But it is also possible that this snake's throat forming the doorway is intended as an indication that we have to imagine the house of *Tepeyollotli* as a cave temple, or at least as connected with underground recesses.

The ninth day-count (*atl*, 'Water'), and the ninth of the nine lords, *Tlaloc*, the Rain God, stand in Codex Borjés at the left end of the upper row of Sheet 14. In our manuscript this figure of the ninth of the nine lords fills nearly the whole space on Sheet 23.

*Tlaloc* means 'he who makes (things) sprout,' being derived from *tlaloa*, a verb which combined with the reflexive has certainly the general meaning of 'to hasten, run, race,' but properly and originally doubtless means 'to sprout.' At least the verb used reflexively is found in combinations where it cannot possibly be translated save by 'to sprout.'<sup>1</sup> The god who bore this name was one of the most popular figures in ancient Mexico, and is found quite frequently pictured. In the exclusively highland parts of Mexico common experience taught that the peaks and crests of the mountains gathered the mists and the clouds about them, were saturated with moisture, and bright with verdure even when the plains at their foot, especially the depressions lying at their west foot under the wind, were parched with drought. It was but natural that these mountain peaks and crests should be thought of as the abodes and the house of the Rain God, as the *Tlalocan*. Not of course the very highest peaks towering above the clouds, ice and snow-clad, but the slopes rising to a moderate height and still clothed with verdure. And the notion of the rain-bringing deity was associated more or less consciously, and more or less fully with the deity that was thought of as the guardian, the protector, the living principle of these uplands. Thus the beautiful cone-shaped mountain rising in the east of their territory, and draped to the summit with vegetation, was regarded by the Tlaxcaltecs as the seat and embodiment of the rain deity, whom they thought of as a female deity, and designated as *Natlalcueye*, 'the Lady of the Blue Robe.'<sup>2</sup> But for the inhabitants of the Mexican tableland the same part was played by the lofty ridges which separate their domain on the east from that of the neighbouring Tlaxcaltecs, and above which farther south the two giants *Ixtac chiuatl*, 'the White Woman,' and *Poqoatepetl*, 'the Smoking Mountain,' rise far into the region of everlasting snow. To this ridge, over which the way led from *Tezcoco* to *Uxotlincan* and *Tlaxcallan*, was specially appropriate the name of *Tlaloc* or *Tlalocan*. These uplands were looked on as the seat of the Rain God, and here was seen a very old idol of the god made of white lava, facing eastwards, and bearing on its head a vessel in which was yearly placed a handful of all kinds of edible seeds gathered in the district. The name *Poqoatepetl*, which frequently occurs in songs to *Tlaloc* and in the worship of the Mexican Rain God, appears to have been merely another name for the same upland region. The Tlaxcaltec historian, Diego Muñoz Camargo,<sup>3</sup> gives us a description of these 'montañas y sierras de *Tlalocan*,' which he himself saw and visited, and found very high and shady, so high that both hemispheres could be overlooked, for it is the highest pass in New Spain, covered with timber of immense height, with cedars, cypresses, and pine groves, of such beauty that words fail him worthily to describe them.

<sup>1</sup> Of the *motecui* or *motepetl*, i. e. the juggler called the 'self-mutilator,' we read in the Sahagún MS. of the Academia de la Historia in Madrid:—'is *cootete*, *atmax* *quatinapachos* *tlalpacatlilomaticos*, *que* *croppa* *moztala*, *matlatlaco*, *moqueteco*—after cutting himself in pieces he covers everything with a parti-streptel cloth, wherewith it grows again, begins to sprout, begins to rise up.

<sup>2</sup> *Motolinia* III. chap. xvi. (Joaquín García Icañbalco, *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México*, vol. I, p. 268).—Pomar, *Relación de Texcoco*. (Joaquín García Icañbalco, *Nueva Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México*, vol. III. pp. 14, 15.)

<sup>3</sup> *Historia de Tlaxcala*, Lib. I. chap. iv.

The god, who was conceived by the inhabitants of the Mexican plateau as dwelling on this mountain pass, but enjoyed veneration throughout the land, is also everywhere represented in a somewhat similar and very remarkable manner. His face, as is very well shown on a stone effigy in the Uhde collection, which is contained in the Royal Ethnological Museum, Berlin (Fig. 299), is properly speaking entirely formed of the coils of two snakes, which being entwined spirally develop a kind of nose in the middle of the face, then

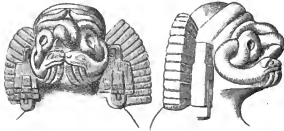


Fig. 299. *Tlaloc*, the Rain God. Stone Effigy in the Uhde Collection, Royal Ethnological Museum, Berlin.



Fig. 300. Clay Figure with the Rain God's Face.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size. Uhde Collection, Royal Ethnological Museum, Berlin.



Fig. 301. Clay Figure with the Rain God's Face.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size. Royal Ethnological Museum, Berlin.



Fig. 302. *Tlaloc* Figure of green stone.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size. Royal Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

with a circular convolution encompass the eye on both sides, while their heads at last meet together with the snouts, so as to represent the upper lip of the god and his long teeth projecting downwards. From this fundamental design the form used with sculptors and in the manuscripts has been evolved by a continuous simplification of the drawing. Transitional forms are represented by the figures (cf. Figs. 300-302) where the nose at least is produced by spiral windings. As a rule, however, there still survive on both sides of the serpentine bodies nothing but a ring about the eye, a spirally convoluted band forming the upper lip and

hanging downwards from it, this band being in the manuscripts painted a blue colour, like the ring encircling the eye; lastly, the long teeth, and even these occasionally, as, for instance, in stone effigies from the district of *Atilisco* (cf. Fig. 304), end by becoming nothing more than three straight strokes turned downwards and looking more like falling rain-drops than teeth. Ultimately only one or another of these surviving elements remains to suggest the notion of the Rain God, as, for instance, the blue lip band on Fig. 306a, which is given as a picture of rain in the Sahagun manuscript of the Biblioteca del Palacio de Madrid.

In the latter picture the remarkable crown which is there worn by the god on his head, is explained to be an image of the cloud by Fig. 306b, which is found on the same sheet of the Sahagun manuscript. From this it might perhaps be concluded that the notched crown with which the Rain God is quite frequently represented, notably in stone statues (cf. Fig. 303), is probably to be understood as a series of ascending jags or pinnacles, *miscolt*, that is to say, images of the clouds.

Now it is precisely in the Codex Borgia group of manuscripts that the typical *Tlaloc* picture receives a further transformation. When in pictures such as Fig. 305 we see the lip band above the mouth on the *Tlaloc* face turning high up, this arrangement may really correspond to that of Figs. 300-302, that is to say, it may be the transition from the lip band to a nose formed by the twisting of spiral coils. But it cannot be denied that the arrangement almost produces the impression as if here the intention were by this band turned high up on the anterior side of the face to reproduce the posterior end of the lip band which in the profile picture is not exactly visible. Now in the Codex Borgia group of pictorial writings—not indeed in Codex Borgia itself, but in the Vatican, in Codex Fejérváry, and in Codex Land—in the very picture given of the ninth of the nine lords (Fig. 308) in our manuscript (Sheet 23), as also in the corresponding figure of Codex Fejérváry (Fig. 309), in the prolongation of the lip band is seen an ornamentally treated object inviolated at the end and transformed to a kind of snake's throat by being furnished with teeth and with an eye introduced above. Although this object may perhaps permit of quite a different interpretation, still at the first glance one is really tempted to explain it as an ornamental modification of the posterior end of the lip band which is

not properly visible in the profile view. I will therefore leave it a moot question whether such an explanation be at all possible or permissible. But I thought it here incumbent on me to direct attention to these effigies as being a specially remarkable and characteristic development of the typical *Tlaloc* face.

The ninth of the nine lords is in Codex Borgia (Fig. 307) painted with a green body, although he is elsewhere as a rule quite black (*moquehote tillicia in incoyotl*). But the face is half black half yellow, as is used in this manuscript. The ring about the eyes and the lip band, that is, what remains of the two cloud-snakes forming the face, are, as always, painted blue. The plate representing the broad end of the ear-plug has regularly a square form in Codex Borgia, as frequently also in the stone effigies. On stone effigies and clay figures this plate is seen to be disposed in four fields by diagonal grooves. This very form of the ear-plug points again to the four quarters of the heavens whence comes the rain, and where the Rain God is at home. A thong with a bell at its end hangs out below this plate, for the ear-plug, as usually with the figures in these manuscripts, is thought of as a *coyolotl*, hollow in the middle. We saw a similar



Fig. 303.  
Stone Figure  
of *Tlaloc*,  
Cauachitlan.

Fig. 304.  
Stone Figure  
of *Tlaloc*,  
Hacienda,  
San Agustin  
near Atilisco.

Becker Collection,  
I.R. Nat. Hist. Court Museum,  
Vienna.



our-plug with *Tepeydolliti* (Fig. 295 *supra*, p. 103); and it is also frequently met with the Pulque Gods. On his head the *Tlaloc* of Codex Borgia (Fig. 307) wears a crown of white feathers. This is doubtless the *atzlatzotli*, the heron-feather crown, that is, made of the feathers of the aquatic bird which in Sahagun's chapter on the dress of the gods is prescribed for the Rain God.<sup>1</sup> This part of his attire is also shared by the Pulque Gods with the Rain God. Under it at Fig. 307 the head is seen adorned with a fillet in which is introduced at front and back a rosette projecting forward in two points, and from which at front and back two large rosettes hang out. This front and back is doubtless really to be understood as 'at the four corners.' Here the Rain God is obviously provided with a four-cornered head-dress, the corners of which answer to the four quarters of the heavens, and are specially indicated by those very rosettes. The head-dress with the bands and the points of the rosettes, and in fact the whole attire of the god, are painted in alternate cross stripes green and *otpigasac*, that is, white sprinkled with black liquid rubber. In other pictures of the Rain God the covering hanging over the back shows a diagonal disposition, which is exactly like that seen on the back covering of *Tepeydolliti* (Fig. 295), and is undoubtedly again



Fig. 305. The Rain God *Tlaloc*.  
Pictorial ms. Vatican. Biblioteca Nazionale.



Fig. 306a. *paipatitl*, 'Rain.'

Fig. 306b. *reatztl*, Cloud.  
Sahagun ms. Bibl. del Palacio, Madrid.



an expression of the four quarters of the heavens. But here in our Fig. 307 the back covering shows on an *otpigasac* ground a white tie, which in its form corresponds to the *amanacpatzotli*, the paper shoulder-tie, with which the offerings and also the dead were wont to be decorated.

In our manuscript (Fig. 308) the ninth of the nine lords is figured with black-coloured body and anterior part of the face black, posterior yellow. The face differs strikingly from that of the Codex Borgia figure, both by the large beard enclosing the chin, and by the ornamental design which I have above described as forming a prolongation of the lip band. Moreover, before the mouth is pictured a stone knife, from which a streak of fire seems to issue. The garb of the god and his decorations are likewise diversely painted in alternating cross bands. But the colours here chosen are black and green sprinkled with rubber. The fillet is properly that of the Sun God, while the *uitemalli*, the bunch of feathers lying on his head, similarly recalls the Sun God's head-dress by the pliant hairy bands which hang far out and look almost like strips of skin.

Like the other members of this series, this ninth of the nine lords also presents his burnt-offering, a bundle of firewood and rubber ball, which in the picture in our manuscript (Fig. 308) is further wrapped

<sup>1</sup> MS. Biblioteca del Palacio. Cf. Ver-offenbarungen aus dem Koeniglichen Museum fur Vorkerkunde, vol. I, part iv. (Berlin, 1890), p. 134.

in a peculiar envelope painted in alternate bands black and green spotted with rubber. As his place of worship, before the *Tlaloc* of Codex Borgia (Fig. 307) is pictured a sheet of water in which a large fish is seen swimming, and which on its surface bears a second burnt-offering (bundle of firewood and rubber ball). We know that offerings were made to the Rain God not only on the mountains, where he was conceived to be in his proper home, but also at any appropriate place in the middle of the water; for instance, in the *Pantillas*, the place set round with flag-staffs in the brackish lagoon at Mexico, where amid the still waters a whirlpool betrays an underground outlet. On the sheet in our manuscript also, before *Tlaloc*, ninth of the nine lords, is pictured a sheet of water in which are seen fishes and snails. But the severed arm, which is further visible near the upper end of the water surface, has nothing to do with this sheet; it belongs to the representation shown on the next following sheet. The corresponding picture in Codex Fejérváry (Fig. 309) deviates somewhat, as here we see in the water a crocodile into whose throat



Fig. 307. *Tlaloc*, the Rain God,  
Ninth of the Nine Lords.  
Codex Borgia 14 (= Kingsborough 25).



Fig. 309. *Tlaloc*, the Rain God,  
Ninth of the Nine Lords.  
Codex Vaticanus 3773, Sheet 231 (= Kingsborough 71).

the streak of fire passes which issues from the mouth of the god. This may be an illustration of the flash of lightning passing from the clouds into the earth.

Such is the interesting series of the Lords or Guardians of the nine Night Hours. Here in our manuscript, and in corresponding places of the two other related manuscripts, they are simply displayed one after the other. But in reality, as appears from their very number, they are to be distributed to the five regions of the world—the middle and the four cardinal points—in such a way that with the middle shall correspond one of the nine, and with the four quarters two each of the eight others. And in truth the first of the nine lords, *Xiuhcoatl*, the Fire God, indicates the middle, as may be seen on Sheet 1 of Codex Fejérváry, which is reproduced at Fig. 265 *supra*, p. 77. For as in the house the hearth-fire forms the central point, so also the Fire God stands in the centre of the world, which thence expands towards the four quarters. He is:—

*in teten inson, in teten inta, in taltzicco onoc*  
'the mother, the father of the gods, who dwells in the navel of the Earth.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sakagun, vi. chap. xvii.

The trader prays to him:—

*na ximeuilitlie mocehuicniehtle Tlalziotecine Nauhcyotele*  
 'Sit still on thy throne, noble Lord,  
 Thou that in the navel of the Earth hast thy seat, Lord of the Four Quarters.'<sup>1</sup>

And as here the god, as the Lord of the Middle, is also called 'Lord of the Four Quarters,' so in *Jacinto de la Secaa's* Manual do Ministros do Indios<sup>2</sup> 'Lord of the Nine Quarters' is given as a current and much-used name of the Fire God. Wherever mention is made in the prayers of—

*in totenté, in togué nauaqué in ihuicand in thallicpaqué*  
 'our Lord, the Lord of the With and the By (of the immediate neighbourhood)  
 the Lord of Heaven, the Lord of the Surface of the Earth'—

the Fire God is always meant, even though the prayer be formally addressed to a god of another name. For, as the Lord of the Middle of the *toqué nauaqué*, the 'Lord of the With and the By (of the immediate neighbourhood),' and as the Lord of the Fifth Quarter of the world, he is both Lord of the Above and the Below, that is the *ihuicand*, the 'Lord of Heaven,' and the *thallicpaqué*, the 'Lord of the Surface of the Earth.' And if we find these designations used also in the naming of other gods, the reason is because it was just the worship of fire, in which warmth and life were thought of as embodied, that was the most primitive and universal cult in ancient Mexico.

Of the remaining eight of the nine lords, the second and the third, *Itzli*, the Stone Knife God, and *Piltziotecutli*, that is *Tomatiuh*, the Sun God, are on the above-mentioned Fejérvári sheet (Fig. 265 *supra*, p. 77) assigned to the region of dawn (*thapepa*), indicated by a rising sun, that is, to the quarter of the East. The fourth and fifth, *Ciateotl*, the Maim God, and *Mictlantecutli*, Lord of Hades, are ascribed to the realm of the dead (*mictlanpa*), symbolised by the yawning jaws of Earth, that is, to the quarter of the North. The female deities, *Chalchiuhtlicue*, Goddess of Flowing Water, and *Thalcolotl*, the Earth Goddess (sixth and seventh of the nine lords) are ascribed to the region of sunset and of spectral women (*ciuatlanpa*), indicated by the figure of a descending demon of darkness (*titziuimid*), that is, to the quarter of the West. Lastly, the eighth and the ninth of the nine lords, *Treyocotli*, Heart of the Mountain, and *Tlaloc*, the Rain God, stand in the quarter of thorns (*nictlanpa*), that is, the region of the South, indicated by a rubber ball and the implements of mortification, bone dagger



Fig. 308. *Tlaloc*, the Rain God.  
 Ninth of the Nine Lords.  
*Codex Fejérvári-Mayer 4*  
 (— Kingsborough 41).

<sup>1</sup> Sahagún, xi. chap. iii.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. i. § 2.

## IX. The Four Forms of the Deity of the Planet Venus.

SHEETS 24-27 (= KINGSBOROUGH 72-75).

In the second and third chapters of this manuscript, following next after the *Tonalamati*, the six quarters have been treated, in the fourth the three realms, in the fifth the Above and Below, then in the sixth the four quarters of the heavens, in the seventh the four ends of the heaven and the four ends of the earth, lastly in the eighth the five regions of the world, with the nine Lords of the Night Hours. Now comes the ninth chapter, in which once more are exhibited the four quarters, in exactly the same way as in the sixth chapter, by the initial signs of the four quarters of the *Tonalamati* disposed in columns of five members. The fresh matter introduced by this ninth chapter must therefore lie in the figures that are brought into relation with these four quarters. And in fact, if in the sixth division we found the four quarters illustrated by their trees, and moreover by the third, fifth, seventh,



Fig. 310. The Bat god, on a painted clay vessel from Chamel (Alta Vera Paz). Erwin P. Diederich Collection, Coban. Cf. Verhandlungen of the Berlin Anthrop. Society, December 15, 1894.

and ninth of the nine Lords of the Night who are fully discussed in the preceding chapter, so here on each of the four sheets the observer is shown a large figure or a group of figures which have nothing whatever to do with any of those in the sixth chapter, or with any in the series of the nine lords. Moreover, amongst them we shall meet with some altogether remarkable forms, which in fact occur nowhere else in this group of manuscripts. Their identity cannot everywhere be established with certainty by means of our manuscript alone. Fortunately, however, for these groups of figures, parallels are also presented by the other manuscripts. And in fact such are found to be, in the first place, the figures (Figs. 313, 315, 317, 319) pictured on the upper halves of Sheets 41, 42 (= Kingsborough 34) of Codex Fajórrary; and next to them the four groups of figures (Figs. 314, 316, 318, 320) occupying the upper right corner in the already frequently mentioned lower halves of Sheets 40-52 (= Kingsborough 66 to 63) in Codex Borjén, figures which in a measure constitute an encyclopædia of all that is worth knowing regarding the four quarters of the heavens.

The first of those four figures, which stands in the first of the four *Tonalamati* quarters, hence must indicate the East, reveals itself as *Thoetzinacutli*, the Bat God. It is a form which occurs nowhere else in the Mexican picture-writings; nor is it mentioned in the texts and traditions of the Mexicans, but appears to have played a great rôle in certain parts of the Maya domain, and perhaps also amongst some of the other primitive tribes.<sup>1</sup> See Fig. 310, which is taken from a fine painted vessel

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Seier, 'Der Fledermvogel der Maya-Stämme.' Verhandl. Berliner Anthropol. Gesellschaft, 15 December 1894 (Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie, xxv. pp. 1577-1585).

unearthed by Erwin P. Dicseldorf at Chama in the province of Alta Vera Paz. We know that one of the annual feasts kept by the Mayas of Yucatan bears the name of *zo'tz*, 'Bat,' and is hieroglyphically indicated by the head of this animal. But elsewhere also the bat's head occurs with surprising frequency in the series of hieroglyphs on the large stone monuments of Copan, Quirigua and other places (Fig. 311), and indeed almost invariably combined with the two elements which are usually denoted as the *been-ik* group, but should more correctly be called *been-k'a'k* (i.e. 'Reed and Fire') group, this being also one of the essential elements in the hieroglyph of the Sun God. Lastly, perhaps the



Fig. 311. Hieroglyphs of the Bat.

- a. Copan. Stela A 32.
- b. " " Stela A 42.
- c. " " Stela N 27.
- d. " " Stela I 20.
- e. " " Stela D 13.



Fig. 312.

- a. Dresden Manuscript 17h.
- b. " " " 17c.

Fig. 313. The Bat God.  
Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 41 (= Kingsborough 4).Fig. 314. The Bat God.  
Codex Borgia 41 (= Kingsborough 56).

initial hieroglyph of the groups in the Dresden manuscript which is reproduced at Fig. 312, and seems to denote hieroglyphically the bird there figured, is to be brought into relation with the bat.

Amongst the figures of our manuscripts that of Codex Fejérváry (Fig. 313) enables us distinctly to recognise the bat, with its hairy extremities, the extended wing-membrane between the arms, the claws corresponding to thumb and great-toe nails on arms and legs, and the animal head with the small sharp teeth, and the erect, skinny, nasal lobe. The colour is, strange to say, *green*, and on the wing-membrane are shown two eyes which correspond to the white crescents on the figure at Fig. 310 which are also undoubtedly meant for eyes. The dark hair of the head set with eyes, the occipital shield (*cuezuc'tech'imull'i*), and the little paper flag with the fluttering streamers are all symbols of death,

badges of the Death God. In one hand the god holds a rounded human head, and seems with the same hand to grasp a dragon, whose body trails along the ground, developing a kind of vessel before which the god stands. With his other hand this Fejérváry god holds a human heart torn from the breast.

In our Vatican manuscript the figures in this division are drawn on a remarkably large scale. The bat (on Sheet 24) is shown with a red colour, all but a part about the eye and the posterior and under edges of the limbs, which are painted a yellow colour, answering to the lighter ventral side of the skin. The god appears here distinctly as a *tlacotzinocantli*, as a man disguised as a bat, inasmuch as the human hand is seen protruding at the arms under the animal claws. In other respects the animal is sufficiently characterised by the wing-membrane outstretched and set with claws, by the large claws above the feet corresponding to the great-toe, and by the animal head with its small sharp teeth. Here the skinny nasal lobe is missing; instead of it is figured a stone knife, perhaps by mistake, but perhaps also to let the figure be recognised as a Death God. The wing-membrane, which is filled all over with black spots, is not depicted here (as in the Codex Fejérváry figure) with an eye, but with a skull, the symbol of death. As head ornament the god wears the usual fillet decked with a jewelled disk and with the conventional bird's head on the frontal side. But above it are worn the half-black half-red cone-shaped hat (*copilli*) of the Wind God *Quetzalcoatl*, the same god's fan-shaped nape adornment *eneqatitlocatl* consisting of black and a few red feathers, and, stuck in the hair, the bone dagger (*omiltl*) and the agave-leaf spike (*uitelli*), the implements of mortification, where the picture of the flower symbolises the blood drawn from the Penitent. In short, the Bat God is here arrayed as *Quetzalcoatl*. But, like the Bat God of Codex Fejérváry, in his hand he holds the rounded head of a man, and in fact one in each hand. And rounded arms are to be seen in the upper left corner of the sheet and on the adjoining Sheet 23. Lastly, on the sheet is further pictured a jewelled disk with all kinds of ornaments and a large breast adornment, a gold disk (*teocuitlacomalli*), and a chain of stone beads (*chalchihuecozpetlatl*) with the leather strap belonging to it.

Manifestly this Bat God of Codex Fejérváry and of our manuscript is conceived as the *c'ama zo'tz*, the 'Head-rending Bat,' who in the Popol Vuh, the Saga book of the Quiché, is mentioned as one of the demous who play a part at the destruction of the first created mortals, the men carved out of wood (*po'y alam ché*)<sup>1</sup>—

*quekerut qui camixaric*—in the following way were they slain,  
*ze butic*—they were submerged,

*zpe nima k'ol chila chi cak*—there came a great copal (dense darkness) from heaven,  
*zcol c'ot vacá<sup>2</sup> u bi se'olin ulak u bak qui vacá*—the eagle gouged their eyes out,  
*zpe c'ama zo'tz<sup>3</sup> xocpin ula qui holom*—the (head)-render, the bat, tore off their head,  
*zpe cotzalam ztio qui tiakil*—the *Cotzalam* (a species of jaguar) devoured their flesh,  
*zpe tucumbalem ztukwic xquichonic qui bakil qu-ibochil*—the *Tucumbalem* (another species of jaguar) crunched their bones, their sinews.

In this instance the Codex Borgia figure (Fig. 314) is the least characteristic, that is, is the most conventionalised. The animal claws and the animal head are distinct, while the skinny nasal lobe is indicated by a style-like curved prolongation at the nose. But the artist has drawn no continuous wing-membrane, which is rather suggested merely by a pair of appendages at the arms which have jagged edges and look almost like butterfly's wings, and a similar tail-like appendage hanging down

<sup>1</sup> Popol Vuh i. chap. iii.  
<sup>2</sup> Amended for *zocotzococh*.  
<sup>3</sup> Amended for *camalat*.

from the girdle behind. The colour of the figure is again green, and, like the Bat God of our manuscript, it is also equipped with the Sun God's jewelled fillet, and the two-coloured conic hat (*capilli*) and fan-shaped drape adornment (*cuexoluitmactl*) of the Wind God *Quetzalcoatl*. Here also the god is distinguished as a *c'amazo'tz*, since, although he does not hold a randed human head in his hand, like the Bat God of the two other manuscripts, he wears such a one as breast ornament. His left hand, raised to throw, is brandishing a throwing-stick (*atlatl*), while with his right he is taking the heart from the breast of a red yellow-spotted Death God standing before him.

The second of the four figures of this division, which stands beside the second *Tonalamatl* quarter, hence must denote the second quarter of the heavens, the North, is in our manuscript (Shoot 25) and



Fig. 315. *M'Gowatl*.  
Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 41 (= Kingsborough 4).



Fig. 316. *M'izowatl*.  
Codex Borgia 50 (= Kingsborough 65).

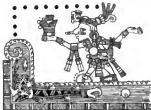


Fig. 317. *N'achip'itl*.  
Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 42 (= Kingsborough 3).



Fig. 318. Deity of the Evening Star.  
Codex Borgia 51 (= Kingsborough 64).

Codex Borgia (Fig. 316) characterised as *M'izowatl*, God of the Hunt, and of the Hunting Tribes of the North, by the white red-striped colour of his body, by the black half mask-like painting about his eye—the 'stellar-face painting,' *mizetlhuicitlax*, *moteneua*, *tlayonalli*—by the locks curling up above his brow, by his hair set with white downy feathers, and the forked heron-feather tuft (*achtzelli*) on his head.

In Codex Fejérváry (Fig. 315) he is represented somewhat differently, not with a white red-striped but with a half-blue half-red bodily colour, but in other respects with similar characters, black half mask-like painting about the eye, the locks above his brow, and the warrior's adornment in his hair. The half-blue half-red painting of his body, which is given in another part also of Codex Fejérváry with the same god, is merely a homologue of the white (red-striped) colour, indicating, like it, the feeble twilight, the time of gloaming, of the transition from day to night. This God of the Hunt is without doubt to be regarded as Lord of the Gloaming, as *Tlauisculpan teculli*, that is, merely as another form

of the deity of the Morning Star, since he is one with it in nearly all of the above-mentioned characters. As God of the Wild Tribes this god is shown in all three of our manuscripts with naked exposed penis, and the hunter is recognised in the peculiar form of the ear-plug, which with the figures of all three manuscripts consists of a deer's foot.<sup>1</sup>

In all three manuscripts the god, as becomes him, is armed with throwing-stick and spear, and he hurls his weapon against a jaguar which in our manuscript and in Codex Borgia is standing on a man lying on the ground. In Codex Borgia the man's body and face are painted like *Micronatl*, the God of the Hunt himself.

The third of the four figures, who stands with the third *Tonalamatl* quarter, hence must denote the third quarter of the heavens, the West, is in all three manuscripts depicted above or before a sheet of water. In the water we see a snail's shell, and a singular half-fish half-reptile creature, which in our manuscript (Sheet 26) and in Codex Fejérvári (Fig. 317) has a black fish-like body set with spines, a shark-like heterocercal tail, but a reptilian or *cipactli*- (crocodile) like head. In Codex Borgia (Fig. 318) it is drawn and painted entirely like a crocodile. As we see in the illustrations, this shark- or crocodile-like creature has torn off the foreleg of the chief person.

The chief person himself is in our manuscripts and in Codex Fejérvári (Fig. 317) conceived as *Xochipilli*, as God of Flowers and Food Supplies, that is, he is painted a light-yellow colour, light hair with a strap set with jewels and on the frontal side bearing a conventional bird's head, the Sun God's fillet wrapped round and decked with a tuft of feathers, and on his breast wearing a large gold disk (*teocuitlacomalli*) attached to a broad jewelled necklace set with bells (*chalchihucocapetlatl*). In his hand the Codex Fejérvári figure (Fig. 317) holds a dish with ornaments—upper-arm bangle (*machomeotl*), neck-chain (*chalchihucocapetlatl*), and tuft of feathers (*quetzalli*). In our manuscript a bunch of grass is seen in the right hand of the figure. But his left hand holds a staff which is painted a blue colour that is, encrusted with turquoise mosaic and set with flowers, and at the upper end is hollow, hence is doubtless intended to represent a *chicasotli*, a rattle-stick. On the water are further pictured in our manuscript the implements of mortification or sacrifice,—flint knife (*tecpatl*), bone dagger (*omitl*), agave-leaf spiko (*uitztlil tzo*), and bunch of grass (*molinalli*). And on the upper margin of the sheet we see the symbol composed of a bright sun and the eye-studded darkness, the picture of night, which illustrates the parting between day and night, the twilight time, the evening, or here presumably the region of the evening, the West.

The third of the four figures of this division differs in Codex Borgia from that presented by the two other manuscripts, being distinctly depicted (Fig. 318) as the deity of the planet Venus, with body and face of a dark colour, the quincunx of white spots (the hieroglyph of the planet Venus) on its face, the locks curling up above the brow, and in the fillet and feather decoration falling over its back showing the devices of the typical pictures of the deities of the planet Venus.<sup>2</sup> The only peculiarity is the nose ornament, which agrees with that of *Xochiquetzal* on Sheet 17 (=Kingsborough 22) in Codex Borgia, and in a measure also with that of the Maize Goddess which is figured on Sheet 57 (=Kingsborough 58) in Codex Borgia. In his hand this third figure of Codex Borgia holds throwing-stick and throwing-spear, which again presents a striking deviation from the picture shown in the other manuscripts.

In the fourth *Tonalamatl* quarter, which corresponds to the South, we find in all three manuscripts a group composed of an eagle and a snake. The eagle (*quauhtli*) is pictured in Codex Borgia (Fig. 320),

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately in the Codex Borgia Fig. 318 the draughtsman has not reproduced this correctly.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. my treatise on 'Die Venusperiode in den Bilderschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe.' *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xix. (1898), pp. 232f and (1907-1904). *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde*, I. pp. 627 and 641-644.



as always in this manuscript, with black and white plumage, bristling head feathers, and the beak of a bird of prey, and at the tips of the head, wing, and tail feathers is set with stone knives, which conveys a further special impression of the predatory, rapacious character of the bird. In our manuscript (Sheet 27) the eagle has a somewhat heraldic look, and the feet might rather be taken for jaguar claws, as the body also shows the spotted pattern of the jaguar skin. In Codex Fejérváry (Fig. 319) wing and tail feathers are variegated, painted in the four colours, but head and beak resemble in form and colour the head and beak of the typical eagle figures.

The snake is certainly to be taken as the feather-snake (*quetzalcoatl*). As such at least it is clearly pictured in Codex Borgia (Fig. 320). That here a feather-snake is meant there is, however, nothing to show in the two other manuscripts except the feather decoration on the head and tuft of feathers at the tip of the tail, and in our manuscript perhaps also the two flower-like objects that shoot up from the nostrils. In the Codex Borgia picture and in our manuscript we see a rabbit (*tochtli*) emerging from the throat of the feather-snake and pounced upon by the eagle, all exactly as with the feather-snake which we shall again meet in the following division with *Xipe Totec*, ruler of the fifteenth day-sign.

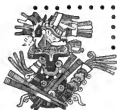


Fig. 319.  
The Eagle and the Feather-snake.  
Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 42  
(= Kingsborough 3).

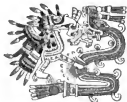


Fig. 320.  
The Eagle and the Feather-snake.  
Codex Borgia 52  
(= Kingsborough 62).

In Codex Fejérváry (Fig. 319), on the contrary, a lizard (*quetzalín*), painted blue, crawls out of the snake's throat, and is seized by the talons of the eagle, who the while laps with his beak the copious stream of blood gushing from the snake's throat (or else from the captured lizard).

On the exact meaning of this group I will not venture to offer a positive opinion. I will merely remark that the same combination of eagle and feather-snake which we see here in our fourth picture is also displayed with the feather-snake above mentioned as pictured opposite the ruler of the fifteenth day-count *Xipe Totec*, for this very fifteenth day-count is *quauhtli*, 'Eagle.'

If, now, we seek for the meaning of these four groups so uniformly pictured in the three manuscripts, I believe that a very valuable clue lies in the fact that in the third group corresponding to the quarter of the West Codex Borgia here shows simply the deity of the Evening Star instead of *Nochipilli*, God of Flowers, pictured in the two other manuscripts, and that in the second quarter also, that is, the North, we find a god figured—*Mixcoatl*, God of the Hunt and of the Hunting Tribes—who is to be undoubtedly regarded as merely a particular form of the deity of the planet Venus. I believe I am justified in conjecturing that the Bat God also, depicted in the first quarter, the East, is nothing but another form, a special conception, a particular material embodiment or allegorical expression, as it were, of the Lord of the

Gloaming, of the Lord in the House of Dawn, *Tlauizcalpan tecutli*, who is thought of in this form because the bat is the barrier, the portal through which the young Sun God shall reappear:—

*t'apal c'a ru chi ri Tullan zoh pe vi*  
 And barred was Tollan gate, whence we came,  
*zu hun chi zotz t'apibal ru chi ri Tullan*  
 a bat was the bar of Tollan gate,  
*zoh alax vi ul zoh c'aholax vi pe*  
 where we were born and begotten,  
*zya vi pe ri k-ikan*  
 where to us our bundle was given,  
*chi k'ekun chi a'bi*  
 in the darkness, in the night.<sup>1</sup>

Having by anticipation drawn the same inference also for the group of the eagle and the feather-snake in the fourth division, the quarter of the South, I have given to the whole of this division the general title of 'The Four Forms of the Deity of the Planet Venus.' And that this designation is justified, I think I have a proof in a sheet of Codex Borjia.

Right in the middle of this manuscript, filling the last ten sheets of one side and the first eight on the other side of the strip, are found a series of intricate representations, which in the whole style of composition of the pictures, as well as in the execution of the several pictures, differ altogether from the contents of the other sheets, and moreover find no parallel anywhere in the other manuscripts of this group. Nobody has hitherto undertaken to interpret these pictures, nor will I venture to give a detailed explanation of them. But at the same time I think we may form some idea of the general contents of these sheets. They follow immediately on Sheet 28 (= Kingsborough 11), where are exhibited the five years that correspond to about three Venus periods (with a difference of 73 days), the initial of the first period being the day 4 *olin*, which, according to the Dresden manuscript, seems meant to indicate the day when the planet in the superior conjunction disappears in the solar rays.<sup>2</sup> The Sheets 29-46, which follow this Sheet 28, and are those that contain the just-mentioned intricate representations, seem to be entirely devoted to the mythology of the planet Venus, that is, to the exposition of the remarkable phenomena presented by this star to the observer—its disappearance and its reappearance in the opposite region of the sky, phenomena here illustrated in a series of pictures, which give proof at once of a remarkable poetic and a very peculiar artistic fancy.

As I understand them, the four first sheets deal with the time of the planet's occultation during its inferior conjunction, that is, before its rise as the Morning Star. We see four houses or enclosures open on one side, all of which are formed of night and darkness, and the head and limbs of a death or earth deity; and to these enclosures is joined a fifth, which is doubtless meant to denote the inmost or most central, being destitute of access, and enclosed round about with darkness and rows of stone knives. Immediately thereafter the fourth sheet ends with the figure of an earth goddess (*Couatlilcu or Itzeuqil*) which occupies the whole width of the sheet, but in the middle of the body shows a great fissure from within which issues between two stone knives a black god who has the face-painting of *Quetzalcoatl* and the lambent frontal locks of *Tlauizcalpan tecutli*, deity of the Morning Star. This I believe is the heart of *Quetzalcoatl*, which after sojourning eight days in the underworld shall rise again in the sky as the Morning Star:—

*quitazya yn icuar mic*  
 they said, when [*Quetzalcoatl*] died

<sup>1</sup> Cakchiquel Annals, § 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. my Abhandlung 'die Venusperiode in den Bilderschriften der Codex Borjia-Gruppe.' Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, xxx. (1899), pp. 367 and 387; Gesammelte Abhandlungen, I, pp. 648 and 666.

*ca nakuilhuil yn amo nez*  
 four days was he not visible;  
*quitaya yeuc mictlan nemito*  
 they said that he then tarried in the underworld;  
*auh no nakuilhuil monati*  
 and four days more he was bones (was lean?);  
*ye chiueryhuitiona yn uecio huey ciltalli*  
 after eight days at last appeared the great star (the Morning Star).  
*yn quitoyas Quetzalcouatl*  
 whom they called Quetzalcouatl;  
*quitaya yeuc moteaktlali*  
 they said that then he mounted the throne, as god.



Fig. 321a. Tzacuipaan and Quetzalcouatl on the Way to the Underworld.  
Codex Borja 25 (= Kingsborough 4).



Fig. 321b. Quetzalcouatl (as Morning Star?) issuing from the Wind God's Throat.

Unless I err, after the representation of the conflagration on the first sheet (29) we have also on the second sheet (60) this heart of *Quetzalcouatl* figured in the form of a large *chalchihuitl* or green jewel enframed by *Quetzalcouatl's* feather ornament and enclosing two entwined *Quetzalcouatl* snakes.

Hence, as at the end of the fourth sheet (32) the god was shown between two stone knives, and issuing from the body of the Earth Goddess, so the next following sheet shows him as Morning Star on the throne, in a temple painted in luminous colours, decorated with stellar eyes and entwined by a large dragon. Or, more accurately, on the throne is, strictly speaking, seated a form of *Quetzalcouatl*, but before him appears a figure in the act of grooving, and also wearing *Quetzalcouatl's* decorations, but his face painted with the hieroglyph of the planet Venus, and this figure must naturally represent the *Tzacuipaan teuctli*, the Morning Star.

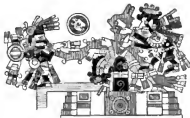


Fig. 322. *Quetzalcouatl* sacrifices the God of the Underworld on the *Chalchihuitl*.  
Codex Borja 42 (= Kingsborough 73).

I must forego the attempt to explain the details of the next following sheets. Amongst other things we find, shrouded by night, a ball-court (*tlachtli*), whose central point is formed by a *cipactli* (crocodile) disguise of *Tonacateuctli*, Lord of Life, whose abode is in the uppermost thirteenth heaven. Then on a blue path we meet the god *Quetzalcouatl*, accompanied by the warrior *Tzacuipaan* (who however has on

his face the bird's beak of *Quetzalcoatl*), both descending below (Fig. 321a). And now on Sheets 36-42 have to be represented the occurrences during the much longer occupation of the planet at the time of the superior conjunction. In this series we meet amongst other things a group (Fig. 321b) in which we see *Quetzalcoatl* (transformed to the Morning Star?) with his eye enveloped in darkness, with the image of night or of the starry sky on his head, and issuing from the throat of the Wind God.



Fig. 323. *Quetzalcoatl* issues from the Opening of the Earth in the North. Codex Borjia 44 (= Kingsborough 71).



Fig. 324. The Maltz-bearing Earth and the Rising Sun. Codex Borjia 43 (= Kingsborough 72).

On Sheet 42 we recognise a ball-court, in the middle of which, between rubber balls and playing-bats, lies the figure of the Death God, who is also decorated with *Quetzalcoatl's* ornament. But on this same Sheet 42, immediately above the ball-court, *Quetzalcoatl* himself is also seen performing the sacrifice to this Death God, while his associate *Tecatlipen* drinks the blood gushing from the wound in the breast (Fig. 322). Hence this means the victory over the powers of death. And thus Sheet 42 concludes with the four ways which, according to my view, denote the ways that lead from the under to the upper world.

Then Sheet 43 again begins with the figure of the Earth Goddess, which occupies the whole side of the sheet. In the middle of the figure there opens a broad fissure enclosed only by a thin 'night-bow,' from which the form of the god *Quetzalcoatl* issues forth. Sheet 44 begins with a similar figure of the Earth Goddess, with the same fissure, the same slight enclosure, and the same *Quetzalcoatl* figure

(cf. Fig. 323). On Sheet 43 the god reaches an enclosure formed of elements of the solar picture and of maize-ears, which we must therefore call *Civacalli*, the 'Maize-house.' On Sheet 44 he reaches an enclosure which, however, is garnished within with stone knives, but outside enframed with rows of flowers, and must therefore be correspondingly designated as *Xochicalli*, the 'Flower-house.' Both the Maize-house and the Flower-house are, strictly speaking, names of the West. These sheets must accordingly indicate the beginning of the period when the planet Venus is visible in the sky as the Evening Star.



Fig. 323a. *Quetzalcoatl*, the Eagle-bearer. Codex Borjica 16 (= Kingsborough 70).



Fig. 323b. *Quetzalcoatl*, as the descending Eagle, denoting the Fifth Quarter. Codex Borjica 45 (= Kingsborough 70).

But within this region of the West a distinction seems to have been again drawn towards the quarters of the heavens, and Sheet 43 seems intended to illustrate the East, Sheet 44 the North, of the western region. For on Sheet 43 within the Maize-house opposite the entrance side, we first of all see lying on the ground an Earth Goddess who is painted blue and studded with eyes, hence in a measure depicted as *Cihuatlicue*, and maize-ears are seen sprouting all over her body and limbs. But above her rises a figure which is drawn with outstretched arms and legs (*mamaoukaticue*), and in its bearing and the structure of its members resembles the Earth-toad ejecting the stone knife from its throat, this Earth-toad being figured on the lower side<sup>1</sup> of the sacrificial-blood vessel (*quauhcicalli*), and in the *Tonalnamatl* of Codex Borbonicus denoting the second hour of the day, that is, *Sunrise*.<sup>2</sup> Here this figure is drawn with protruding eye (after the manner of *Xolotl*), and with snake's throat inserted in the human mouth, but moreover with the Sun God's head adornment, and on its back it bears a *solar disk*, the core of which is formed by a jewel (*chalcuicuitl*) enclosing a human heart (Fig. 324).

On the other hand, on Sheet 44 in the Flower-house facing the entrance side a figure of *Xochiquetzal* is drawn, lying on the ground (cf. Fig. 331 *infra*, p. 124). This is the form of the Earth Goddess who, according to the traditional conception, is the representative of the warriors. Of her we must doubtless assume that here within the West she symbolises the stone knife region, the North.

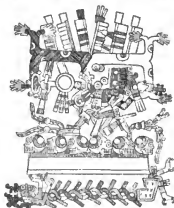


Fig. 324. *Tonalnamatl*, as Evening Star and Eater of the West. Codex Borjica 15 (= Kingsborough 70).

<sup>1</sup> *Ethnologisches Notizblatt*, vol. 15, part 1 (1899), pp. 14-21, and vol. 11, part 1, pp. 125-130.

<sup>2</sup> *Tonalnamatl* of the Aztec collection, Berlin and London, 1909-1961, pp. 27 and 25.

Lastly, after Sheets 43, 44, come still two other sheets (45 and 46), which in the same way as Sheets 43, 44 show at the entrance side a figure of the Earth Goddess, with a fissure in the middle, where a form of *Quetzalcoatl* ascends from under a slight enclosure.

The first of these two sheets, Sheet 45, contains, distributed in the four corners, four houses, the walls and roof of three of which are formed by an eagle (Fig. 325a), those of the fourth by eagles' down, hence these must be called Eagle-houses (*quanahcalli*). With them corresponds a descending eagle (cf. Fig. 325b),



Fig. 327. *Quetzalcoatl* and the Four and the Nine Forms of the Deity of the Evening Star. Codex Borjia 45 (- Kingsborough 70).

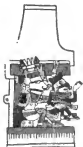


Fig. 328a. The Western Dragon-house with the Gods *Uritlipochtli* and *Tecatlipoca*. Codex Borjia 46 (- Kingsborough 69).

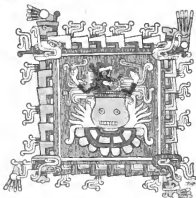


Fig. 328b. *Quetzalcoatl* in the Dragon-house (*Xihonacalli*) of the Middle. Codex Borjia 46 (- Kingsborough 69).

denoting the fifth quarter or region of the world. On this same sheet, which within the region of the West denotes the West, is also seen *Thauicatlpancoatl*, as deity of the Evening Star, that is, the god depicted with the hieroglyph of the planet Venus, here represented as Ruler (Fig. 326). And below him *Quetzalcoatl*, as bearer of the four and of the nine forms of the deity of the Evening Star (Fig. 327).

The fourth sheet, Sheet 46, may be designated as *Xihonacalli*, the 'Dragon-house.' It contains, distributed at the four corners, four houses in which are seen seated *Xihotecalli*, the Fire God, *Tecatlipoca*, *Uritlipochtli* with *Tecatlipoca* (Fig. 328a), and a fourth deity that can no longer be clearly made out.

At least with the last house walls and roof are formed out of a dragon (*ziuhcoatl*). And opposite these four houses the fifth quarter is represented by a square consisting of four dragons (*ziuhcoatl*), (Fig. 328b). This sheet symbolises within the region of the West the quarter of the South. On it, facing the entrance side, is seen the Fire Goddess lying on the ground (Fig. 329). She is looking out from the throat of a dragon (*ziuhcoatl*) equipped with arara-wings and arara-tail, and on her body *Quetzalcoatl* is drilling fire.

Thus the four houses figured on these four sheets—the Maize-house (*incuilti*), the Flower-house (*zochuilti*), the Eagle-house (*quauhtli*), and the Dragon-house (*ziuhcoatl*)—which within the region of the West symbolise the four quarters, seem at the same time intended to be an expression of the four day-counts—*zochilt*, 'Flower,' *coatl*, 'Snake,' *itscuanti*, 'Dog,' *quauhtli*, 'Eagle'—which in the *Tomalamatl* disposed in columns of four members form the beginning of the fourth of the five sections. Only they seem to display these four day-counts in the reverse order—*coatl* (Snake), *zochilt* (Flower), *quauhtli*

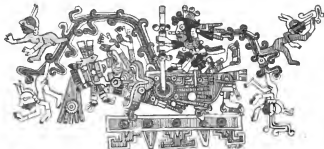


Fig. 329. *Quetzalcoatl* drilling Fire on the Body of the Fire Goddess. Codex Borgia 46 (= Kingsborough 60).



Fig. 330. *Quetzalcoatl* ascending to the Evening Sky. Codex Borgia 66 (= Kingsborough 69).

(Eagle), *itscuanti* (Dog). In this division of Codex Borgia these four day-counts are given on Sheet 32 with the Stone Knife-house, on Sheet 44 with the Flower-house. In the old religion they appear to have played a conspicuous part, and to have been associated with the deity of the planet Venus, in his form as Evening Star. Even in the late expositions in the Chilam Balam books it is for the days named with these signs that a direct ritual is prescribed. In the Maya language of Yucatan they bear the corresponding names *chicchan*, *ahan*, *men*, *oc*. And thus it runs at<sup>1</sup>—

3	<i>chicchan</i> ,	<i>oc</i> ,	<i>men</i> ,	<i>ahan</i>	<i>u k'a k'a'k ah to'</i>
	(Snake)	(Dog)	(Eagle)	(Flower)	'the Burner takes the fire'
10	<i>chicchan</i> ,	<i>oc</i> ,	<i>men</i> ,	<i>ahan</i>	<i>u ho'pol u k'a'k ah to'</i>
					'the Burner's fire begins'
4	<i>chicchan</i> ,	<i>oc</i> ,	<i>men</i> ,	<i>ahan</i>	<i>yul kaba ah to'</i>
					'the Burner says the name'
11	<i>chicchan</i> ,	<i>oc</i> ,	<i>men</i> ,	<i>ahan</i>	<i>u t'up k'a'k ah to'</i>
					'the Burner puts out the fire.'

<sup>1</sup> Chilam Balam of Mani 30, (according to Dr. Hermann Boreard's copy, now in the University Library, Philadelphia).

The whole of this representation ends with the four Sheets 43-46 which symbolise the region of the West in the four houses. The actual conclusion is formed at the end side of the last sheet, Sheet 46, by Fig. 330, an Earth Goddess lying on the ground, and corresponding to Fig. 323, but with her robe painted all over with stars. Here also the form of *Quetzalcoatl* again issues from the fissure in the middle of the body, where, however, there is no longer any arched enclosure; which means that after the fourfold

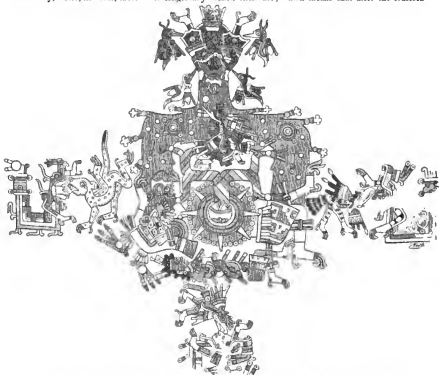


Fig. 331. The Goddess *Xochiquetzal* and the Five Forms of the Deity of the Evening Star. Codex Borgia 44 (= Kensington 71).  
course he now ascends as a real star, as the Evening Star, to the fifth course in the sky. For, as we learn from Sahagun<sup>1</sup> :—

*mita, in isseu ianecicua echechot vulquica*

'they say, when he rises anew,

*mappan padivi, poyadiaktietzi*

'immediately thereafter four times he again dies out

*auh ctepan nel cuepani, cuepantinotolia, cuepantica*

'and not till then he really expands

*totactitica ishqvia metotam ic hancetia*

'he appears with a brightness like that of the Moon.'

<sup>1</sup> Sahagun, book VII, chap. III, ms. Bibl. Laurentiana.



It is not impossible, it is even very probable, that in this remarkable statement, as well as in the representation on Sheets 43-46 of Codex Borgia, an expression is given to the actual observation that the Evening Star does not in fact rise at once in its full splendour, does not attain its greatest brightness, till it has moved away from the Sun, when its apparent diameter has waxed to 40 inches, its luminous form is reduced by  $\frac{1}{4}$  of its diameter, and it has reached about  $\frac{3}{5}$  of its western elongation.

Now, it is on one of the here-described sheets, in fact on Sheet 44, where the Flower-bouse (*xochicalli*) is pictured with the goddess *Xochiquetzal*, that we also meet the four figures which I have described in the first part of this chapter (cf. Fig. 331). These are the groups which are co-ordinated with the four quarters, which are represented in our manuscript, Vatican 3773, on Sheets 24-27, and which in the heading of the chapter I have designated as the four forms of the deity of the planet Venus.

For, as already above stated, on these sheets within the *xochicalli*, the enclosure set on the outside with rows of flowers, which has openings on its four sides and at the four corners is inscribed with the four day-counts *zochitl* (Flower), *coatl* (Snake), *itzcuintli* (Dog), *quauhtli* (Eagle), opposite the opening which (according to the sequence of the sheets) is indicated as the entrance opening, we see lying on the ground a figure of *Xochiquetzal*, Goddess of Flowers and of Womanly Artistic Skill, who is at the same time the patroness of the *maqui*, the courtesans, the female associates of the bachelor warriors. On her body rests a solar disk, whose chief surface is formed by a jewel (*chalchicuitl*), which encloses a human heart as a core. Out of this grows a tree, whose branches are painted in diverse colours and end in flowers, and on whose summit is perched a *Quetzalcoatl* disguised as a humming-bird (*suitzilin*). This humming-bird in a sense denotes the Middle, or the fifth quarter of the heavens. In the cross disposed about this group the four quarters are displayed by means of four figures or groups of figures:—

At the entrance side (above), which must denote the initial quarter or the East, we see the bat-man *Tzacatzinacntli*, or, more correctly, *Quetzalcoatl* in the disguise of a bat. Here the bat is drawn quite analogously to the *Tzacatzinacntli*, whom we were able to study on Sheet 49 of Codex Borgia (cf. Fig. 314 *supra*, p. 113). He descends, as it were, on the wing from above, and in his two fere-claws holds a human heart from which gushes towards two sides a broad stream of blood, which is set on the surface with jewels (*chalchicuitl*), and at the end of the ramifying currents with flowers (*zochitl*). One of the currents runs out before the face of *Xochiquetzal*, and at this end is seen a second human heart, which is in a similar way seized by *Xochiquetzal*, whose arms instead of hands have likewise jaguar claws. Lastly, the *Tzacatzinacntli* is further surrounded by four strange winged creatures which combine a humming-bird's bill with a worm-like footless body, with insects' antennae, and with wings in their main part formed like beetles' wings.

At the three other entrances, which must consequently correspond to the North, West, and South, we see in a similar manner a jaguar (*ocelotl*), a quetzal bird (*quetzalototl*), and an eagle (*quauhtli*) descending from above. Here the jaguar obviously denotes the God of the Hunt, *Miccoatl*, who is accompanied by this animal, and is figured on Sheet 25 of our manuscript (cf. Figs. 315, 316 *supra*, p. 115): The eagle in the same way corresponds to the eagle of Sheet 27 of our manuscript (cf. Figs. 319, 320 *supra*, p. 117). And the quetzal bird may with the fullest justice be regarded as a representative or a personification of the god *Xochipilli*, who is shown on Sheet 26 of our manuscript, and is also figured in Codex Féjérvary (cf. Fig. 317 *supra*, p. 115) in the third *Tonalamotl* quarter, hence in the quarter of the West. But of the four figures which are pictured on Sheets 24-27 of our manuscript, and form the subject proper of this chapter, the last alone, the eagle, is shown in combination with a dragon, whereas here on Sheet 44 of Codex Borgia the three last figures—jaguar, quetzal bird, and eagle—are each combined with a snake in a single group, and indeed the jaguar appropriately with a red dragon (*xishcoatl*), the quetzal bird with a snake painted in the colours of the green jewel (*chalchicuitl*), lastly, the eagle with a snake which is doubtless to be taken as a feather-snake, its body being painted white (and red-striped), and its arms black with white spots, that is with stars (*cicitallo*).

These four figures—bat, jaguar, quetzal-bird, and eagle—are here represented on a sheet which, as we have seen, denotes the North within the region of the West. But this is also the sheet on which are figured the four day-counts—*xochitl*, *cosatl*, *itzcuinlli*, *quaualli*—to which we must presumably ascribe a more general significance for the whole of this region of the Evening Star. And similarly these four animals, hence also the four groups of figures depicted on the Sheets 24-27 of our manuscript, will have a general meaning for this same region of the Evening Star. This very Sheet 44 of Codex Borgia, where the four animals—bat, jaguar, quetzal-bird, eagle—are grouped round the figure of *Quetzalcosatl* disguised as a humming-bird and occupying the central space, is a proof that these four animals, and consequently also the four figures exhibited on Sheets 24-27 of our manuscript, are to be regarded only as different forms or particular conceptions of the deities to whom the whole of this series of sheets in Codex Borgia are devoted, that is, as *special forms of the deity of the Evening Star*. And withal one understands how the *Tlaxotzinacutli*, the bat, the animal of the twilight, appears as the first of these forms, since in the above-quoted passage (p. 118) of the Cakchiquel Annals of him we read:—

*xa hun chi ç'itz tç'apibal ru chij ri Tullan*  
a bat was the barrier of Tollan gate,  
*zoh alax vi ul zoh ç'ahodax vi pe*  
where we were born and begotten  
*xya vi pe ri k-iban*  
where to us our bundle was given,  
*chi k'etum chi aba*  
in the dark, in the night  
(i.e. in the primeval time, before the birth of the Sun that  
now shines on man).

For the Tollan whence the Cakchiquels claimed to have come was the western Tollan, as is stated in the fourth paragraph of the same Annals, just before the quoted passage:—

*chu kutibal ç'a kik zoh pe vi Tullan ç'ac'ç'a palook*—  
out of the Tollan lying in the Sunset we came, from beyond the sea,  
*ç'a ç'a vi ri Tullan*—that is the Tollan,  
*chivi ç'a zoh alax vi ul zoh ç'ahodax vi pe*  
where we were born and begotten  
*rusut ku tee ku tata que chi*  
of our mothers, of our fathers, so they relate.

Hence the singular fact that the bat is ascribed to the first *Tonalanacutli* quarter, therefore to the East, is simply explained by the circumstance that the bat was not apart to represent the first of the four quarters *within the region of the West*, within the region of the Evening Star.

I must decline to enter further into the symbolism of these figures, nor do I think it necessary, since for the other figures and the other animals the relation to the quarters of the heavens is clear, for them the combination seems natural with the heavenly quarters for which they were the chosen images. This holds undoubtedly for the jaguar and *Micronacutli* and the North, as also for the quetzal bird and *Xochipilli* and the West. For the West is indeed the region of water, of coolness, of bloom, of increase, and the home of the maize. But it holds presumably also for the eagle and the South, since the eagle is the emblem and image of the warriors, while the South is the scorching, the fiery region.

Thus after the first twenty-three sheets of our manuscript have exhibited the calendar proper, and after the six sheets have dealt with the four and the five regions of the world, Sheets 24-27, where

for the second time the *Tonalamatl* appears distributed to the four quarters, introduce the special relation to the star of the evening, of the planet *Venus*—a star which in the science and belief both of the Mexicans and the Central American peoples takes the foremost place, the knowledge and cult of which was the common inheritance shared in alike by the ancient Mexicans and the ancient Central American peoples.

## X. The Twenty Day-counts and their Deities.

SHEETS 28-32 (= KINGSBOROUGH 76-80).

SHEETS 87-94 (= KINGSBOROUGH 10-3).

The ancient Mexicans, like most of the native American tribes, had a *vigesimal numerical system*, which takes the number twenty as the first unit of a higher order. This system lies in the very nature of man. In order to realise certain numbers man had recourse from the earliest times to the fingers of his hand. And for peoples dwelling in warm lands, unaccustomed to wear any shoes, it was but natural, as soon as the ten fingers were used up, to fall back on the toes of the bare foot, in order to carry on the reckoning to the end. Hence in the Mayn languages of Central America *Vinak*, 'Man,' has become the expression for 'twenty.' But when the numerical system was thus developed on the twenty, it was again but natural that for the measurement of time also a count of twenty days should form the first unit of a higher order.

Now the special feature of the Mexican and Central American calendar was that, within this unit of a higher order, the several days were denoted not simply by ordinal numbers, but by the names of certain objects perceptible to the senses, for the most part names of animals. These names are not only much the same amongst the various branches of the widespread Mexican linguistic family, but are also met amongst all peoples of the Mexican and Central American cultured zone in like form and meaning, or at least in variants easily recognised and for the most part easily brought into agreement. In the appended table I give the names of these twenty days as sounded by the tribes of Mexican speech. Here the first list shows the names as formerly current amongst the Mexicans of the region of the central plateau. The second list is taken from a report written in the year 1579 on the *Mestizans* district bordering on the Huastecan territory. The third, which contains some very interesting variants, is found in a ms. chronicle which belonged to the library of the former Franciscan convent at Guatemala. Lastly, the fourth is the list of the twenty 'Gods' which were mentioned to the preacher Francisco de Bobadilla in the Nicaraguan village of *Teoco* as those in whose honour feasts were kept in regular order within a year of ten (should be thirteen) *Çempucales* or 'Twenties.'

I. Mexico	II. Meztitlan	III. Guatemala	IV. Nicaragua
1. <i>cipactli</i> Crocodile	1. <i>zohiquepal</i> <sup>1</sup> Earth Goddess	1. <i>cipactli</i> el capudarte, ó poje espala	1. <i>cipat</i>
2. <i>hecaltl</i> Wind	2. <i>ecatl</i>	2. <i>hecaltl</i> el viento	2. <i>evat</i> <sup>2</sup>
3. <i>calli</i> House	3. <i>calli</i> <sup>3</sup>	3. <i>calli</i> la casa	3. <i>calli</i>

<sup>1</sup> Corrected for *zohchi haviak*.

<sup>2</sup> Corrected for *evat*.

<sup>3</sup> Corrected for *calli*.

I. Mexico	II. Maztitan	III. Guatemala	IV. Nicaragua
4. <i>cuetzpalin</i> Lizard	4. <i>xilotl</i> <sup>1</sup> young Maize- ear	4. <i>quetzpalli</i> el lagarto	4. <i>quèspal</i>
5. <i>cuauil</i> Snake	5. <i>cuatl</i>	5. <i>cuauil</i> la culebra	5. <i>cuat</i>
6. <i>miquiztli</i> Death	6. <i>tzontecomatl</i> Skull	6. <i>miquiztli</i> la muerte	6. <i>misiede</i>
7. <i>maqatl</i> Deer	7.	7. <i>macatl</i> el venado	7. <i>maqat</i>
8. <i>tochtli</i> Rabbit	8. <i>tochtli</i>	8. <i>toxtli</i> el conejo	8. <i>toste</i>
9. <i>atl</i> Water	9. <i>atl</i>	9. <i>atl, ò quiahuitl</i> el agüacero	9. <i>at</i>
10. <i>itzcuintli</i> Dog	10. <i>izcuin</i>	10. <i>itzcuintli</i> el perro	10. <i>izpáinudi</i>
11. <i>apomatl</i> Apo	11. <i>apoma</i>	11. <i>apomatl</i> la mona	11. <i>apomate</i>
12. <i>malinalli</i> Twisted	12. <i>atlan</i> his Tooth	12. <i>malinalli</i> la escobilla	12. <i>malinat</i>
13. <i>acatl</i> Reed	13. <i>acatl</i>	13. <i>acatl</i> la caña	13. <i>agut</i>
14. <i>ocelotl</i> Jaguar	14. <i>ocelotl</i>	14. <i>teyolloxani</i> el hechicero	14. <i>ocelot</i>
15. <i>quauhtli</i> Eagle	15. <i>cuirtli</i> Bird of Prey	15. <i>quauhtli</i> el águila	15. <i>oute</i>
16. <i>cozcaquauhtli</i> Vulture	16. <i>teotl ytonal</i> the Sign of the God	16. <i>tecodal</i> el buho	16. <i>cozcaquaste</i>
17. <i>etin</i> Motion	17. <i>nakui ollí</i> <sup>2</sup> 'four Motion'	17. <i>tecpilanaquatl</i> al temple	17. <i>etin</i>
18. <i>tecpatl</i> Flint Knife	18. <i>tecpatl</i>	18. <i>tecpatl</i> el podernal	18. <i>tepecat</i>
19. <i>quiauitl</i> Rain	19. <i>quiahuitl</i> <sup>3</sup>	19. <i>ayutl</i> la tortuga	19. <i>quiauit</i>
20. <i>zochitl</i> Flower	20. <i>ome zochitomal</i> the sign 'two Flower'	20. <i>zochitl</i> la flor ò rosa	20. <i>sochit</i>

On the hieroglyphs of these twenty signs, as they appear in the Mexican picture-writings, I have given a detailed account in my essay on the 'Day-counts of the Mexican and the Maya Manuscripts,'<sup>4</sup> which first appeared in vol. xx. of the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*; and there also I advanced the proof that the same pictures or pictures akin in meaning underlie the Maya hieroglyphs which seem to be quite differently constructed. And in a second essay, 'On Mexican Chronology,'<sup>5</sup> contributed to vol. xxiii. of the same periodical, I have made a special study of the peculiarity of the Zapotec names

<sup>1</sup> Corrected for *atlatl*.    <sup>2</sup> Corrected for *nahui ollí*.    <sup>3</sup> Corrected for *quiauitl*.    <sup>4</sup> *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. xx. p. 417-503.    <sup>5</sup> *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. xxiii. pp. 367-384.

of the day-counts. I may here also refer to a short comparative treatise on the various forms of these lists and hieroglyphs inserted in my elucidation of the *Tonalamatl* of the Aubin collection.<sup>1</sup> I have, moreover, already pointed out in the first chapter of the present work that these twenty counts were precisely designed to become an instrument in the hands of the soothsayers, since they both directly awakened definite conceptions and were in a position indirectly to interpret them. Hence for this very reason *Tonalpouhqui*, 'he who counts the day-signs,' i.e. weights, considers them according to their value, has become the technical designation of the soothsayer in the Mexican language. But the very circumstance that these names of the days, taken from twenty natural objects, inevitably give rise to certain definite notions, had the further consequence that, in the sphere of thought at least of the learned classes, these twenty days became linked up with the names of special deities, whose nature seemed to accord or be one with the nature of the objects or the animals from which the several days were named.

This series of the twenty deities corresponding to the twenty day-counts is in our manuscript represented in two different places, on Sheets 28-32 (= Kingsborough 76-80), and on Sheets 87-94 (= Kingsborough 10-3), but will here be treated at once in their due connection. And they appear also in quite analogous form on the five Sheets 9-13 (= Kingsborough 30-26) of Codex Borgia. In its

proper place I have shown<sup>2</sup> that this series resembles a second series of twenty deities, the guardians of the twenty *Tonalamatl* divisions, with, however, one remarkable exception:—the god holding the eleventh place in our series has been omitted in the series of guardians in the twenty *Tonalamatl* divisions, another god replacing him at the end of the series. I shall have later to return to this second series which is treated both in our manuscript and in Codex Borgia, and also in Codex Telleriano-Remensis and the other Mexican manuscripts proper—Codex Borbonicus and the *Tonalamatl* of the Aubin

collection. As for them, interpretations are available in Codex Telleriano-Remensis and in Vaticanus A (No. 3738); these, as well as the related series of the gods of the day-counts, afforded me at the time the first firm ground for determining the deities figured in the Codex Borgia group of manuscripts.

The first day-count and its deity stand in Codex Borgia in the right half of the lower division of Sheet 9, in our manuscript in the left half of the upper division of Sheet 28, and on the right side of Sheet 87.

The first day-count bears the name of *cipactli*. The word is evidently connected with *tsipactli*, *tsiuactli*, the name of a prickly plant which grows in the northern steppes, and is always mentioned with *nequameh*, being, like it, probably a species of agave. At least such a plant is to be seen distinctly drawn in the hieroglyph *Tsiauactepetl* on Sheet 25 of Codex Telleriano-Remensis. Now the day-count *cipactli* certainly indicates not a plant but an animal, one, however, which is similarly distinguished by a row of spines. Duran explains it<sup>3</sup> as '*cabeza de sierpe*,'—'pues la pintan así y la etimología del vocablo lo declara.' In point of fact in Codex Telleriano-Remensis, and in the other picture-writings coming from the district of Mexico City, the animal is figured with a snake's tongue (cf. Fig. 333), which, however,



Fig. 332 *Tsiauactepetl*  
hieroglyph.  
Codex Telleriano-Remensis  
fol. 25 (= Kingsborough III. 1).



Fig. 333 *cipactli*  
hieroglyph.  
Codex Borbonicus 18.

<sup>1</sup> Berlin and London, 1890-1901, pp. 8-16.

<sup>2</sup> 'Die Tagesszeichen der aztekischen und der Maya-Handschriften und ihre Gottheiten.' Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, xx (1888), pp. 10-38. (Glossarische Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde, Berlin (A. Asher & Co.) 1902, vol. I, pp. 417-447.)

<sup>3</sup> *Tratado 2<sup>o</sup>*, chap. 2<sup>o</sup>.

is doubtless merely to be ascribed to some kind of heraldic representation. Sabagun translates *cipactli* with '*espaderete* (swordfish), *que es un pez que vive en la mar.*'<sup>1</sup> And this explanation is again supported by the better executed pictures of Codex Borgia, which append to the tip of the animal's snout a design which, at least in this series, is curved, but is on both sides set with spines like those of a swordfish (cf. Fig. 334). In Zapotec the first day-count is called *chijlla*, while the name of the *crocodile* is *piko pi-chijlla* or *pi-chijlla p'áa*. And this, I think, we shall have to take as the real meaning of the word. To it best corresponds the usual design of this animal head. And if in the Codex Borgia group of manuscripts we find the *cipactli* head invariably figured without lower jaw, we should perhaps call to mind the upper jaw of the crocodile, which has an independent action, flaps upwards, and gives such a characteristic appearance to this animal. In the second chapter of the '*Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas,*'<sup>2</sup> it is related that after the gods had made the underworld, the various heavens, and the water with its deities, they made in the water—'*nn pexo grande que se dice cipacuorti, que es como cayman*'—and that from this fish they made the earth, which is called *Tlaltctli*, and that this fish 'is usually figured as God of the Earth'—'*tendiolo sobre un pescado por se aver hecho del.*'

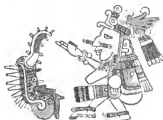


Fig. 331. *Tonacatecuh, Lord of Life.*  
*Ruler of the First Day-count cipactli, 'Crocodile.'*  
Codex Borgia 9 (= Kingsborough 30).

As ruler of this sign there appears a god painted a light-yellow colour, and in Codex Borgia (Fig. 334) figured with *Iztac Mixcoatl's* white heron-feather beard,<sup>3</sup> and with the ring-shaped appendage below the upper lip, which is probably a mistaken formation arising from the contracted corner of the mouth of *old gods*, and in any case in this manuscript is characteristic of old gods. He wears the fillet with the conventional bird's head on the brow, and a rich feather adornment occurring in this style elsewhere in our manuscript only with *Xochiquetzal* and *Xochipilli*, and a flowering tree on his head both on Sheet 28 of our manuscript and in Codex Borgia. But on Sheet 87 of our manuscript he is arrayed in the two-coloured cone-shaped cap, *capilli*, and the god *Quetzalcoatl's* feather ornament, *capulitlacuilli*. Remarkable with the latter figure is further a long flame-like beard waving down to the feet, which is figured in like manner with the god *Quetzalcoatl* next following on this sheet, and in a similar way, but differently coloured, seven sheets farther on with *Tomatluk*, the Sun God, ruler of the fourteenth day-count.

In the series of gods of the *Tonaltemall* division the name of this god is given as *Tonacatecuhli* by the interpreters of Codex Telleriano-Remensis: '*Dios, señor, criador, gobernador de todo, floque, unuque, tlalticque, teotlate, matlax, tepena*'—all these names had been attributed to this god *Tonacatecuhli*, who was the god of whom it was said that he had created the world, and so he alone was painted with a royal crown as Lord above all. And the second interpreter (Pedro de Rios) adds that offerings were never brought to this god because he wanted them not. All the others to whom offerings were made had been men or times (calendric dates) forces of nature (?) or demons.

More fully speaks the same interpreter (Pedro de Rios) in his remarks on Codex Vaticanus A 5:—

<sup>1</sup> Lib. IV. chap. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Juan José Garea Ixtalcoatl, Nueva Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México, vol. II, pp. 220, 221.

<sup>3</sup> Codex Fajersary-Mayer, Berlin and London, 1904-1907, p. 150.

<sup>4</sup> Codex Telleriano Remensis, fol. 8 (= Kingsborough 31, 1).

<sup>5</sup> Codex Vaticanus Nr. 3738, fol. 12 verso (= Kingsborough 17).

'*Tonacateotl*, that is, *Lord of our bodies*, others say that it means the *first man*, and perhaps it means that the first man was so called. . . . This is the picture of the *first Lord* that the world was said to have had, and who, as it pleased him, blew and divided the waters from heaven and from the earth, which before were all intermingled, and he it is who disposed them as they now are, and so they called him *Lord of our bodies*, and *Lord of the overflow*, and that he gave them all things, and therefore he alone was pictured with the royal crown. He was further called '*Seven Flowers*' (*Chicome xochitl*), because they said that he *divided the principalities of the world*. He had no temple of any kind, nor were offerings brought to him, because they say he desired them not, as it were to a greater Majesty. . . . They called him *Tonacateotl*, and by another name *Citallatoni*, and they say he is the sign that appears at night-time in the sky, which by the people is called *Via di San Giacomo* or the *Milky Way*.'

Hence Codex Vaticanus A (Nr. 3738) pictures him squatted on a carpet made of maize-cars, and gives as the hieroglyph of his name a royal Mexican crown, which is filled with maize-cars (Fig. 335), that is, it expresses the word *tecutli*, 'King, Prince,' by a royal Mexican crown (*xinhuicztli*), and the word *tonaca*, which properly means 'our flesh,' 'our body,' by *maize-cars* (*ciattli*). For of maize is made the flesh of man. Therefore the abstract form *tonacayotl* is the very term used for food supplies, or in a narrow sense for maize. And *Tonacatecutli* is often simply translated by *Lord of food supplies* (*dios de los mantenimientos*).

Lastly, Vaticanus A pictures the same god in the same colour, garb, array, and likewise squatted on a maize-ear carpet, and with the same royal crown filled with maize-cars as the hieroglyph of his name—so on the reverse side of Sheet 1 (= Kingsborough 2) in the *Omeyocan*, the 'Place of the Twofold,' the uppermost, the thirteenth heaven; that is, this document identifies him with *Omecutli*, 'Lord of the Two,' who is the shaper of man, the God of Procreation. When the midwife sprinkles the new-born babe with water, she prays to the Water Goddess:—'Here is come into the world thy bond-slave whom our Mother, our Father, *Omeciuatl*, *Omecutli*, have sent, who dwell above the nine heavens, that is, the abode of these gods.' And when after the dip she swathes the child in its swaddling-clothes she prays further:—'Thou hast been formed in the place where bide the great God and the great Goddess who are above the heavens. Thee have they formed and begotten, thy Mother, thy Father, *Omeciuatl*, *Omecutli*, the celestial woman, the celestial man.'—And so also speak the kinsfolk after the happy delivery of the child:—'Thou hast been fashioned in the highest place, where dwell the uppermost gods, above the nine heavens. They have moulded and cast thee like a golden bead, they have pierced thee through and sliced like a jewelled bead, thy Mother, thy Father, the great Lady, the great Lord, and with them *Topiltzin Quetzalcouatl*.' Lastly, this is likewise the god of whom Sahagun relates in the chapter on the Toltecs, that he, too, was already known to that earliest of cultured peoples, that there are twelve heavens, and that in the highest heaven above them reside the great Lord and his wife, whom they call *Omecutli*, 'Twice Lord,' and *Omeciuatl*, 'Twice Lady,' and that they were so called because they held sway over the twelve heavens and ever the earth. 'From these great Lords, say they, hangs the essence of all things, and that at their bidding and from thence came the influence and the warmth, whereby the children were begotten in their mother's womb.'<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, to sum up, we have seen that in the 'Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas' the first day-count *cipactli* is set beside the earth itself, which was created by it, and that the god also of



Fig. 335. *Tonacatecutli* hieroglyph. Codex Vaticanus A (Nr. 3738) fol. 12 back (= Kingsborough 17).

<sup>1</sup> Sahagun, VI. chap. xxxix.

<sup>2</sup> 'Y que por su mandato, de allí venia la influencia y calor, con que se engendravan los niños y niñas en el vientre de sus madres.' Sahagun, X. chap. xxix. § 1.

this day-count *Tonacatecutli*, as the 'Lord of Food Supplies,' the 'Lord of Superabundance, of Wealth,' who gives maize and all things to men, is in a sense thought of as one with the earth; hence in any case is also called *Chicoma zochitl*, 'Seven Flower,' that is, is identified with *Xochipilli*, God of Flowers, the male counterpart of the goddess *Xochiquetzal*; but that at the same time this god is supposed to dwell in the uppermost heaven, to send children thence into the world, and to shine by night as the Milky Way in the sky; that lastly this god is the *tlauac nauaque*, 'the Lord of the With and the By,' that is, the Lord of the immediate neighbourhood, the *tlalticpaque*, 'the Lord of the surface of the earth,' that is, the Lord of the Middle, of the fifth region of the world, of the Below and the Above, coming in this relation into contact with the Fire God. But while the Fire God was an object of living worship, to whom offerings were daily made at every meal, before every serious business, this 'Lord of Life,' the Creator *Tonacatecutli*, is merely an outcome of philosophic speculation. Like the god of our theosophical systems, he arose from the need of a principle of causality; he is the first cause placed at the beginning of all things, and also original source and reason of the daily renewed, as well as of all individual life. He is no doubt mentioned in prayer, but no prayers are addressed, no offerings made, no temple erected to him. Of the king end priest of the people in the elden time, of *Quetzalcoatl*, Lord of the Toltecs, of him alone do we read in the already once-quoted passage from the *Anales de Quauhtlan* :—

*auh moteneu mitoa*  
*au ihuicatl ititc*  
*in tlaltlatlauhliaya, in motekauya*  
*auh in quimotaya*  
*Citlalín írae Citlaltláuar*

*Touacaciuatl Touacatecutli*  
*tecollaquetqui yztlaquetqui*  
*tlallamanc' tlalticcutl*  
*auh ompa ontatzia*  
*inik quimatia Omeiyocan*

*chicmauhnepanithecun inic nani*  
*ihuicatl*  
*auh in ik quimatia*  
*yekmantin ompa chanque*  
*in quimotaya, in quitlatlauhliaya*  
*hucl nomattinencu tlaoatzinencu*

And they say,  
that in the inward heaven  
he honoured as gods,  
he invoked,  
the goddess of the starry robe, the  
stellar Sun God,  
the Lady and the Lord of our flesh,  
who are clothed in charcoal,  
clothed in blood,  
and he shouted,  
as they (the old people) learnt, to the  
Omeiyocan,  
to him above the nine times en-  
chained resting heaven,  
and, as was told to them,  
who there had their dwelling,  
them he invoked, them he honoured,  
in lowliness and in sorrow.

The *Tonacatecutli*, as the god of the primeval time, of the time when the tribes still lived as *Chichimecs* clothed in skins, without fixed abodes, as hunting tribes, are also reffribile the above-quoted names mentioned by the interpreters of Codex Telleriano-Remensis: *tecollal*, 'Lord of the Stoppe' (or 'Lord of the North'); *matlana*, 'Lord of the Net'; and *tepeca*, 'Lord of the Mountains,' which collectively are meant to designate nothing but the hunter, the *Chichimec*.

Beside *Tonacatecutli*, Lord of the First Day-count, the first human pair are found pictured in all the above-mentioned places, and also on the reverse of Sheet 12 of Codex Vaticanus A (No. 3738). By this the god in question is characterised first as the primeval god, the creator of all things, and secondly more especially as the *Ometecutli*, the Lord of Procreation, who sends children into the world from the uppermost thirteenth heaven, where is his dwelling. In Codex Borgia (Fig. 236) this first human pair are represented simply as man and woman. Only the flame-coloured hair and

<sup>1</sup> Corrected for *tlallamanc*.



lambent frontal locks of the man enable us to recognise that he is in a measure to be regarded as one with the Celestial God, with *Tonacateculli*, and his wife with the Earth Goddess. But on Sheet 28 of our manuscript (Fig. 338) both are distinctly characterised as gods by the frontal band and feather adornment, and doubtless also by the ear-disk, the *teomacochtli*, a rosette painted in the colour of the turquoise, from which a jewelled strap ending in golden bells hangs out or down. Here also the man or the god has flame-coloured, the woman or the goddess black hair. The hair of the former is bound up by the usual thong bearing a conventional bird's head on the frontal side. To the fillet of the woman or goddess is attached a cotinga (*xichitotoll*) on the frontal side, in the form of a bird flying



Fig. 336. The First Human Pair.  
Codex Bezae 9 (= Kingsborough 30).



Fig. 337. The First Human Pair.  
Codex Vaticanus A (Nr. 3736) fol. 12 recto (= Kingsborough 17).



Fig. 338.  
The First Human Pair.  
Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773), Sheet 28  
(= Kingsborough 76).



Fig. 339.  
The First Human Pair.  
Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773), Sheet 87  
(= Kingsborough 105).



Fig. 340. The First Human Pair  
represented with *Xochiquetzal*,  
Lady of the Nineteenth *Tomolanatl*  
Division. Codex Borbonicus 19.

down, and similar to what we have already seen on the fillet of the Fire God. But the stop-shaped nasal plate is a female ornament, and distinguishes the goddess *Xochiquetzal*, a goddess who in point of fact is by the interpreters identified with *Tomacocisatl*, consort of *Tonacateculli*

*Ah ugaricau ni xochiquetzalli tlacay xivitaya*

Out of the land of water and mist I come, *Xochiquetzal*  
the Goddess of Love

*motewaliman tanwancha oay*

out of the land where (the Sun) enters the house, out of  
*Tomwanchan*

*ye quitichocaya tlamacazecalla piltzintecalla*

weepeth the pious *Piltzintecalli*

*quigtemocaya ye xochiquetzalla*

he seeketh *Xochiquetzal*

*royvein ay topa niaz oay*

dark it is, ah, whither I must go.

Thus runs the ninth of the songs of the 'Cantares que decian a honra de los dioses en los templos y fuera dellos,'<sup>1</sup> from which it follows that for the Mexicans the divine pair of lovers were represented by *Xochiquetzal* and *Piltzintecutli*, the latter being given as another name of the Sun God in the series of the nine Lords of the Night, but in the 'Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas'<sup>2</sup> is mentioned as the name of the male member of the first or of the first but one human pair.

In Codex Borgia and on Sheet 28 of our manuscript (Figs. 336, 338) this first human pair is drawn in a lying position, that is, transversely to the long axis of the chief figure of the division, and under a common coverlet painted in the colours of the jewel, over which a jewelled chain hangs down. It is therefore clear that the pair are intended to be represented in sexual intercourse. In a similar way, but in somewhat more simple design (cf. Fig. 340), we see the first human pair figured with *Xochiquetzal*, ruler of the nineteenth *Tonalamatl* division on Sheet 19 of Codex Borbonicus. In Codex Borgia and on Sheet 28 of our manuscript (Figs. 336, 338) there further rises between the two a *chiricuatli*, the rattle-stick which is carried by *Xipe Totec* and in general by the earth, maize, and water deities, and is a symbol of fecundity (cf. *supra*, pp. 82, 83). In the picture of the first human pair which is accompanied in Codex Vaticanus A (No. 3738) by *Tonacatecutli*, ruler of the first *Tonalamatl* division (Fig. 337), we see instead of the rattle-stick a stone knife set up between the pair, while above each of them an arrow-shaft shoots upwards. The two arrow-shafts are doubtless intended to symbolise a *fire-drill*, and the stone knife set up between them *fire*, so that the whole scene is meant for a symbol of sexual union.

On Sheet 87 of our manuscript (Fig. 339) the group is further increased by the picture of a *cipactli*, the 'cayman-like fish, of which the earth was made,'<sup>3</sup> the symbol of the fertile soil. The head of the male member of the pair (of the figure to the right) can no longer be recognised. But, to judge from the design of the other, the female figure, a kind of stream of blood seems to have issued from the mouth of both—a symbol of the commingling energies, as we shall learn in a later section of these elucidations (with the first human pair figured with *Tonacatecutli*, ruler of the first *Tonalamatl* division).

The second day-count and its ruler are pictured in Codex Borgia in the left section of the lower half of Sheet 9, in our manuscript in the right section of the upper half of Sheet 28 and in the central column of Sheet 87.

This second day-count bears the name of *icatl*, 'Wind': and *ik*, the Maya name of the second day-count, has a like meaning. But I have already had occasion once above to point out that the verbal forms *quij* and *lan*, by which this sign is called in the Zapotec language, has quite a different meaning, that of *fire*. We shall doubtless have to assume that the underlying notion was that of 'breath, respiration, life.' With this also seems best to correspond the nature of the remarkable deity who was regarded as the embodiment of this sign. Neither the one nor the other of these concepts were easy to be reproduced in hieroglyphs. The expedient was adopted of drawing the head of the god of this sign, of the Wind God, whom we shall have presently to discuss. For this purpose the Maya peoples invented a special hieroglyph which in the more severe types of the monuments takes the form of a T (cf. Fig. 341). I might venture to suggest that this was originally intended to represent the open mouth and the breath issuing from it.

The god who rules this sign is the renowned *Quetzalcoatl*, King, Priest, and Lord of the Toltecs, that mythical cultured people who, prior to all other tribes, was said to have inhabited the Mexican land, whence being expelled by the machinations of the magicians, they migrated eastwards, to the coastlands. In the historical period *Quetzalcoatl* was worshipped especially in the great commercial city of *Cholula*, and in general throughout the whole land of the *Thlaxepetec*, that is, of the tribes

<sup>1</sup> Sahagun-MS., Biblioteca del Palacio.

<sup>2</sup> Joaquín García Icañbalcoá, Nueva Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México, vol. iii, pp. 226-232.

<sup>3</sup> 'Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas.' Cf. *supra*, p. 139.

inhabiting the elevated tableland at the east foot of the range dominated by *Popocatepetl* and *Iztaccíhuatl*; but is also mentioned, for instance, as tribal god of the city of *Mizquitl* situated on the *Xochimilco* lagoon, and as god of one of the wards of Mexico City. In prehistoric times his effigy accompanied the migrating Nahu tribes spreading as traders, conquerors, and colonists to the remote Central American lands, where we meet his name in the translated forms of *Kukul can*, *Cucul chan*, or *K'u cumatz*, in the languages of the Maya peoples settled in that region. But in Yucatan the god was known to have come into the country from the West, and withdrawn again by the *Champolou* route, being looked upon afterwards by the Mexicans as one of their local gods and being called *Cebalocouati* (read *Keyalkouati*, i.e. *Quetzalcouatl*) by them.<sup>1</sup> And in Guatemala the *Popol Vuh*, the Saga book of the Quichés, also attests that:—*Y-leuat Quitzalouat u bi u c'abauil yayqi vinak*, 'Volcouatl (1) Quetzalouatl is the god of the *Mexicans*.' And the *Relacion of the Licenciado Palacio*,<sup>2</sup> which is the only hitherto published report containing any particulars on the religion of the Aztec-speaking *Pipil* tribes of Guatemala and San Salvador, also mentions the god *Quetzalouatl* and the goddess *Iteuyé* as the idols to whom worship was paid in the district of *Milla* bordering on the beautiful *Gujia* lagoon.

The name *Quetzalouatl* is composed of the words *quetzalli* and *ouatl*, the latter meaning 'snake,' the former denoting the rich metallic green tail-feathers of the well-known bird belonging to the family of the Trogonidae. Both words, like the mythical being itself denoted by the compound term *Quetzalouatl*, were doubtless originally symbols of water, or of the moisture which is caused by rain, and after the long drought quickens vegetation to new life. So also the learned Chiapanec priests explained *Cuchulehua* as 'the feather-snake that lives in the water,'<sup>3</sup> and was the patron of the seventh sign. This means, as we shall presently see, that these priests identified the feather-snake with the Rain God *Tlaloc*.

Similarly the *K'ucumatz* of the Guatemalteco myth appears altogether as the principle which has its life in the water. *U'c'uc cho u c'uc pato*, 'Heart of the lake, Heart of the water,' he is called in the *Popol Vuh*: *su pa ya xa col vi ri*, 'in the water is his sphere of action,' is the expression in the *Cakchiquel Annals*. And when Sahagun tells us<sup>4</sup> that the offerings presented by the Mexicans at the beginning of their year were, according to the statement of some, intended for *Tlaloc* the Rain Gods, according to others for *Chalchiuhtlicui* the Water Goddess, according to others again for the High Priest and Wind God, *Quetzalouatl*, here also expression seems to be given to the same fundamental notion of this god. Still it must withal appear somewhat strange that in the Mexican tradition proper the god is everywhere characterised as distinctly the *Etéatl*, the Wind God.

In all this I believe we have the outcome of a priestly speculation similar to that which, as a philosophic teaching, was attributed to Thales of Miletus. The fertilising power, which was recognised in the efficacy of water on vegetation, caused the god representing this element to appear as the *Lord of Life* absolutely, as the God of Creation, and the juxtaposition of 'life, breath, respiration,' and of 'respiration, breath,' and 'wind' seems then to have further caused the wind to be exhibited as the special sphere of activity of this god. As a matter of fact, to *Quetzalouatl* as God of Creation the

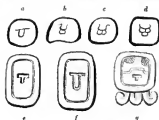


FIG. 341. Hieroglyph 'U'.  
a, b. Dresden Manuscript.—c. Codex Perez.  
d. Codex Tro.—e. I. Palenque Alter Tablets.  
g. Cebalca-wood Tablet at Tabal.

<sup>1</sup> Lande, *Relacion de las Cosas de Yucatan*.

<sup>2</sup> *Coleccion de Documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento y a la conquista de America*, vol. vi. p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Notas de la Vega, Constituciones diocesanas*, vol. ii. p. 132.

<sup>4</sup> Sahagun, book ii. chap. 1.

same function is ascribed as to *Tonacatecutli*. This is expressed in the words to which the kinsfolk give utterance in the above-quoted passage, after the happy delivery of the child.—'Thou hast been formed in the highest place, where dwell the uppermost gods, above the nine heavens. They have moulded and cast thee like a golden bead, they have pierced thee through and sliced like a jewelled bead, thy Mother, thy Father, the great Lady, the great Lord (i.e. *Omeaciuatl*, *Ometecutli*), and with them *Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl*.' And this is also expressly stated in a passage of the Sahagun manuscript in the Academia de la Historia:—

*aca yvini in quitotzin in totatus in toculhuan*  
 'and thus said our fathers, our great uncles.  
*auh vni quitotzin tech[eh]yah, techyocuz, tech[eh]lina*  
 'they said that we were made, shaped, and formed by  
*titlayocuyalrus in topiltzin in quetzalcoatl*  
 'him whose creatures we are, Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl,  
*auh quiguocuz in ilhuicatl in tonatish in tlaltecutli*  
 'and he created the heaven, the sun, the God of Earth.'

And, according to the *Anales de Quauhtitlan*, it was on this very day *chicome ceottl*, on the day 'Seven Wind,' that *Quetzalcoatl* created man. In the history of creation also, which is related in the *Popol Vuh*, the *Saga* book of the Quiché, it is *Tepou K'ucumatz*, 'the Lord *Quetzalcoatl*,' who is in the strictest sense the real operating party. We therefore understand how, as I above stated, *Tonacatecutli*, the god creator, the ruler of the first day-count, is on Sheet 87 of our manuscript simply pictured in the garb of *Quetzalcoatl*, with his two-coloured cone-shaped cap, and his fan-shaped nape feather adornment *cucahuicomeatl*.

A speciality of *Quetzalcoatl* is further the priestly character that clings to him, and that to him were attributed the invention and the conscientious performance of the penitential exercises and mortifications, of the blood-letting and the offering of one's own blood, which were amongst the most universally and regularly carried out religious practices of the ancient Mexican and Central American peoples. This is in intimate connection with his rôle as Lord and King of the Toltecs, since these very Toltecs were the reputed inventors of all cultures, and consequently also of religion and priesthood. It may, however, be also understood in the sense that in the remarkable figure of this god the part of the Rain God was assumed by the rain-charmer, who by his prayers and his practices ensured for his people the rain required for the growth of their crops. At the same time by a later transposition this idea was brought into connection with the nature of the god as the Wind God by the device of explaining the Wind God as the forerunner and road-sweeper of the Rain God (*yntezwancanuk, yntelachpancanuk yn tlaloque, yn awaque, yn quiguiguankti*). Before the rains begin great gales and dust-storms spring up, and therefore they said that *Quetzalcoatl*, the Wind God, swept the ways for the Rain Gods that they might rain.<sup>1</sup>

It is merely a side issue of this priestly character that the same god is also mentioned as soothsayer, as wizard, as the wise priest, and especially as *inventor of the Calendar*, of the *Tonaltematl*, and, lastly, that he is declared to be one with the Morning Star, that is, with the orb which was specially observed by the learned Mexican and Central American priestly class, whose periods, as we above saw (p. 4), were presumably also of influence in the construction of that very Calendar, the *Tonaltematl*.

Lastly, with scarcely any other god is it so clearly seen as with this deity that beneath the chaotic polytheism apparently presented to us by the Mexican and Central American cult there still lay a purer ideal, more closely approximating to our standpoint. In the above-quoted passages, where *Quetzalcoatl*, blended with *Tonacatecutli*, is worshipped as God, the Creator, a purer spirit is already breathed. But still more palpable proofs are at hand. We know that, after his kingdom was overthrown by the machinations of the magicians, and he himself plunged into guilt and sin, *Quetzalcoatl* with his people

<sup>1</sup> Sahagun, l. chap. iii.

forsook the city of Tollan where he had hitherto dwelt, and went forth *tonatim ixaro*, 'before the face of the sun,' that is, towards the East. And when he reached the *Tzilan Itzapan*, the 'land of the black and the red colour' (i.e. the land of writing), the *Tzatlaysa*, the 'Place of Burning,' a place which is identified with the district bordering on Tabasco, there he mounted the pile, and was burnt, or according



Fig. 342. The Deities of the Four Quarters :—a. Xiuhtecuhtli, the Fire God ;—b. Tezcatlipoca, the War God ;—c. Tlaloc, the Rain God ;—d. Quetzalcoatl, the Wind God. Pictorial Codex of the Florentine Biblioteca Nazionale 77.

to others, disappeared in the Eastern Sea, but before his death or before his disappearance was said to have foretold that he would return and resume his sway. Now when Cortes with his lime-faced yellow-haired associates (*xitlaxcoatlque*, *tonacoatlque*), carrying thunder and lightning in their hands, landed from the Eastern Sea, the Mexicans were naturally convinced that their god *Quetzalcoatl* had returned, and *Moteczucuma* (Montezuma) sent him as a guest-offering 'the dress that was appropriate to him.'<sup>1</sup> But he

<sup>1</sup> Sahagun, xii. chap. iv.

sent him, as such, not merely the typical *Quetzalcoatl* costume, as it is known from the picture-writings and stone effigies, and as it will be described below, but *four kinds* of attire, the costumes of the four deities dominant in the four quarters of the heavens, which were thought of as embodied in this one deity. As the first was sent that of *Quetzalcoatl*—the turquoise snake-mask (*xihcoanazayacatl*), the quetzal-feather adornment (*quetzalapaneoyotl*), and the turquoise throwing-stick (*xihcattlatl*) shaped in the form of a snake—a costume which is really that of the Fire God; as second the garb of *Tzacatlipoca*; as third that of the Rain God *Tlaloc*; as fourth that of the Wind God *Quetzalcoatl*. Hence these *four deities*, the Fire God *Xihcoatl*, then *Tzacatlipoca*, the Rain God *Tlaloc*, and the Wind God *Quetzalcoatl*, were thought of as embodied in *this one deity*, in *Quetzalcoatl*.

These four costumes, that is to say, these four deities, which for the Mexicans represented the four sides, the four aspects of the one deity *Quetzalcoatl*, are in fact shown on a sheet of the interesting pictorial document in the Florentine Biblioteca Nazionale, Sheet 77, of which I here give a reproduction of like size as Fig. 342. Both in itself, and as an illustration of the accompanying text, this sheet is of supreme importance.

Lastly, it is interesting to note that the *Quetzalcoatl* as he appears in the *Tollan* myths, though in the later representations, for instance, in Codex Vaticanus A (No. 3738), he is figured quite in the style of the Wind God of the picture-writings, with the devices that I shall have to describe below (cf. Fig. 344 *infra*), yet in the early text of the *Axales do Quauhtitlan* is said to wear as his special paraphernalia the turquoise snake-mask (*xihcoanazayacatl*) and the quetzal-feather ornament (*quetzalapaneoyotl*), that is, the decorations of the Fire God:—

*ye ypan yn xihuitl ce acall*—lastly in the year 'one Reed'  
*motenehua mitoa*—they say  
*yn ypanc xapilo*—when he had arrived  
*teapan yhuicantenco*—on the shore of the sea  
*niman moquetz chocac*—then he began to weep  
*conicic yn itlatqui mochichihuc*—put off the garb with which he was arrayed,  
*yn yapanerayauh*—his quetzal-feather ornament,  
*yn xihcoayac*—his turquoise (snake)-mask, etc.  
*auh yn icuac omocencauh*—and when he had made himself ready,  
*niman ye ynomoten*—then of his own accord  
*mollati mollocahui*—he burnt himself  
*yn motenayotia yn Tlalapan*—whence the land is called the burning place  
*yn ompa mollatilo yn Quetzalcoatl*—where Quetzalcoatl burnt himself

His ashes became dust and changed to all kinds of bright-feathered birds, but his heart was converted into the Morning Star.

In the picture-writings and on the monuments *Quetzalcoatl* is represented sometimes with simple human features (cf. Fig. 342d and our manuscript Sheets 28 and 87), sometimes with oral parts peculiarly elongated like beaks or trunks, which are probably meant to symbolise the act of blowing (Fig. 343). The latter form, as well as the whole conception of the god as the Wind God, seems to me a later development. If, however, Durin can be believed, the famous idol of Cholula had this form; and the great bulk of the small clay antiques also show him with this mask. The body of the god is black, while the face, whether the simple human or that with the oral parts elongated like a bird's beak, is painted in two colours. The anterior half, that is, the middle of the face, is yellow, the posterior half (the region of the temples and the back part of the cheeks) black, while the border between the two colours is formed by a deep black line which runs from the upper edge of the forehead just above the eye downwards. The parts about the mouth, lips, and chin, as well as the Wind God's large beak, are red. As a rule the red beak is surrounded

at the base by a beard, which being drawn out in single tufts produces quite the effect as if the base of the beak were feathered (Fig. 343). But even where the god is depicted with human features, mouth and chin are very often enframed in a long beard (cf. Sheet 28 of our manuscript).

In the attire of the god specially prominent is a cone-shaped hat (*capilli*), which is sometimes painted in the design of the jaguar-skin (*ocelotpilli*), sometimes is vertically parted into a dark (black or blue) and a light (red) field, with an eye in the middle. Where this cone-shaped hat is absent, it is as a rule replaced by a large eye encircled by eye-studded darkness—probably an emblem of night, or of the dark sky which we find similarly pictured with the Rain God *Tlaloc*. Below this hat the hair is tied round with a band which often takes the usual form of a leather strap set with jewelled disks bearing a conventional bird's head on the frontal side and elsewhere simply coloured red, but in Codex Borgia (cf. Fig. 343) regularly shows a peculiar pattern of black step-meanderings on a white ground. Instead of this strap in other pictures is shown a bow artistically tied with ends rounded off (Fig. 344), and as a



Fig. 343. Quetzalcoatl, the Wind God, ruler of the Second Day-count.  
Codex Borgia 2 (= Kingsborough 30).



Fig. 343b. 'Hiltsall o naxta oocowall oocowoyan.' Fictorial Manuscript in the Florentine Biblioteca Nazionale, fol. 3 back (*oocowall* corrected for *oocowall*).

rule decorated with one or two large jewelled disks or with the hieroglyph *chalcuicuil*. Lastly, on Sheet 62 of Codex Borgia (= Kingsborough 53) the hair is bound up with two intertwined snakes.

In the picture-writings this cone-shaped hat is invariably combined with a fan-shaped nappe ornament consisting of black feathers, and from which radiate separate rod feathers. In the chapter on the attire of the gods in the Sahagun manuscript this feather adornment is introduced under the name of *cuerauitomeatl*. But in the description of the Wind God's costume sent by *Moteczuhzoma* to Cortes as a hospitable gift,<sup>1</sup> this ornament is called *corollio rei itepal*, 'his large grouse-feather nappe appendage,' and in the Spanish text described with the words—'una capilla grande hecha de plumas de cuervo,' that is, 'a large cape made of crow's feathers.'

Characteristic is further the white ear pendant bent like a hook, and as a rule very distinctly drawn. In the chapter on the attire of the gods it is called *trinculhuqui teocuilatl in inacoel*, 'his thorny bent golden ear ornament,' but in the description of the costume sent by *Moteczuhzoma* to Cortes *tecuaitla-epocollli*, 'the inviolated golden ornament of musculo-shell,' and in the Spanish text is described

<sup>1</sup> Sahagun, xii, chap. iv.

with the words—'un garabato de oro que llamaban *coacocatl*.' No less characteristic for the god is also the necklace of spirally voluted snail-shells (*teocuilhuacuech-coacatl*), and the ornament sliced from the shell of a large screw-shell worn by the god on his breast, and in Sahagun's chapter on the attire of the gods designated as *coailacatzcoatl*, 'the spirally voluted wind-jewel.' (Cf. Fig. 343a).

The picture is completed by the rounded-off ends of the loin-cloth usually painted in two colours, brown (jaguar-skin colour) and white, more rarely red and white; by the throwing-stick spirally involuted and painted with a 'stellar design' (*ciuitlalli*), that is, with white circles on a black ground; lastly, by the implements of mortification, the bone dagger (*omiltl*) and the agave-leaf spike (*mitliti*), which are usually stuck in his fillet, or else held by the god in one or other of his hands, and on which the trickling blood is symbolised by a flower, or a chain of feathers and flowers.



Fig. 344. *Quetzalcoatl*, the Penitent of Tollan. Codex Vaticanus A (Nr. 3738) fol. 7 back.



Fig. 345. Huastec Stone Figure from Tanquian. Seier Collection. Royal Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

These dress peculiarities may be partly traced back to the notion that to *Quetzalcoatl* as the Wind God was appropriate the round and whorled, or the spirally involuted, and that as priest he should be furnished with priestly implements. As we know, even the very temples erected to this god were round. And they brought him offerings of round fruits, such as melons, as is stated by the interpreter of the pictorial document in the Florentine Biblioteca Nazionale. The most conspicuous parts, however, of his attire must be referred to some particular local origin. The cone-shaped cap (*coetlacpilli*), the fan-shaped nape adornment (*coaxliia vei tepalli*), and the hook-shaped ear pendants (*epocolliti*) sliced from a musculo-shell, are undoubtedly *Huastec insignia*.

At Fig. 345 I reproduce the photograph of a stone statue, which I have brought to Europe from the district of *Tanquian* in the Huastec country, and at Fig. 346 drawings of figures which I saw during my journey through the Huastec country in the year 1888. Here *Quetzalcoatl*'s cone-shaped cap, and in some of the figures the fan-shaped nape ornament, as well as the hook-shaped bent ear pendant, are everywhere easily recognised. In point of fact, in his ethnographic chapter on the *Cuzteco*, i.e. the



Huastecs, Sahagun<sup>1</sup> also tells us that they wore at the sides of the head fan-shaped feather ornaments (*quetzalmanalli*), and on their back large adornments which looked like fly-flaps and were made of arara-feathers (*cuecullapoualli*), or strips of palm-leaves disposed wheel-fashion (*pogatlapoualli*). We are forcibly reminded of *Quetzalcouatl's* head-gear by the stone effigy from *Tepeyintla* in the district of *Tuxpan*, State of Vera Cruz, of which Chavaro has published an illustration in the *Anales del Museo Nacional*, and of which I here give a half-sized copy at Fig. 347. It is obviously a picture of the Earth-toad, comparable to those which we see figured on the lower side of the Mexican sacrificial-blood vessels (*quacuauhtli*), and like these, is clothed in a female garment (*cueitl*) set at the lower edge with rattling snail-shells, only the drawing is reversed, as is not rarely the case elsewhere. But here the head is not that of the monster adorned with the ruffled hair of the Death God, as in the pictures on the lower side of the Mexican *quacuauhtli*. It is a kind of demon face with large canines and snake's tongue, above which tower the peaked Huastec hat and nape feather decoration, and which is flanked by disks as ear pendants, below which hangs a book-shaped ornament exactly like the *epoualli* of the god *Quetzalcouatl*. Lastly, I think it altogether probable that *Quetzalcouatl's* typical breast ornament, the *ecuilaicitl-cocacatl*, sliced from the shell of a large screw-snail, is likewise an article of Huastec attire. For I have myself collected such ornamental objects amongst the objects taken from Huastecan graves, and have also found them pictured as breast ornaments on ancient figured vases, as, for instance, on a clay jug from *Atlaxaco*, in the *Huejutla* district, State of Hidalgo.

Now, how have we to explain the fact that this god, who, so to say, occupies the central point in Mexican mythology and in the Mexican notions of the deity, is, if not actually clothed as a Huastec, nevertheless depicted as adorned with typical articles of Huastec attire? From my point of view several considerations present themselves as possible replies to this question. *Quetzalcouatl* was held to be the lord and prince of the earliest inhabitants of the land, that is, from the Mexican standpoint, of the first immigrants. And according to a widespread belief, this first immigration followed the route through the Huastec territory.

*Atlan acatlca in calloque mic tlamanli*

<sup>1</sup> Over the water in ships came numerous tribes,

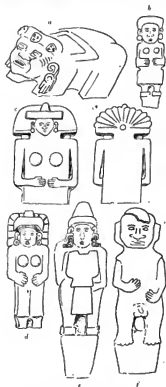


Fig. 346. Huastec Stone Effigies.

a. *Pulachi*.—b. *Tampico*.—c. *Puerto de Orizaba*.  
—d. *Cofre de Tuxpan*.—e. *Tampico*.—  
f. *Tampico*.

<sup>1</sup> Sahagun, x. chap. xxix. § 8.

*auk oncau atesco quiquaco yn niellowpa atesco*  
 'to the coast they came, to the coast situate in the North  
*auk yn oncau caranaco yn imcal.*  
 'and where with their ships they landed,  
*motocayoti . panutla . q . n . pnturayax . acaan mibot panutla*  
 'that was called Panutla, i.e. "where they go over the water," that is  
 now called Panlla.  
*niman ye atentli quitcautique*  
 'then they followed the coast  
*quititivi in tepell oncau yehoa in iztac tepep youn in papocatepep*  
 'they beheld the mountains, especially the Sierra Nevada and the  
 Volcno (Popocatepetal)  
*hacito yn quauhtemallan . catcutautivi*  
 'and came, still following the coast, to Guatemala  
 . . . *Niman ye vallaque oncau hacico .*  
 'thereafter they came and reached  
*yn itoyaguan temonanchan . q . n . temonx tochan*  
 'the place called Tamoanchan, i.e. "we seek our home"  
*auk oncau veevauque*  
 'and there they tarried long.'



Fig. 247. The Earth-lord. Stone Figure from Tepicavilla  
 in the Tuxpan district, State of Vera Cruz.  
 (After the illustration in the *Anales del Museo Nacional  
 de México*.)

A second possibility may also present itself. This equipment with articles of Huastec dress we find with the god who is designated as the *Wind God*, with whom other dress peculiarities, such as the rounded-off ends of the loin-cloth and of the head tie, the snail-like inveluted end of the throwing-

Then in *Temonanchan* takes place the first 'parting of the ways.' The *tlamatinime amacayotl*, the wise people, the learned in book lore, separate from them and go eastwards, taking with them the black and the red colour (*tlilli . tlapalli*), i.e. the script, the books (*amoztli*), the picture-writings (*tlacuilbilli*), knowledge (*tlamatiniliztli*), songs (*nievamatl*), and flutes (*tlapitzilli*). Of course, these people were the mythical Teltecs, who moved eastwards to the *Tlilan Tlapallan*, 'the land of writing'; they were the 'emigrants' (*yaguel*), that is, the *Yagui vintak* of the Quiché sagas.

The place called *Panutla* or *Panlla* in the above-quoted passage is the present *Panuco* in Huastec territory. There is good reason why this district should be mentioned as the place where the tribes landed. *Panutla* or *Panlla* is just equivalent to *panonaga*, 'where they go over the water.' But when the ancient men of lore placed the first immigration of the tribes in Huastecaland, it becomes quite intelligible that the god who was regarded as the leader of the first immigrants, that is, *Quetzalcoatl*, should be clothed as a Huastec, or depicted with articles of Huastec costume.

stick, seem to give expression to the peculiar nature of wind as the circling, whirling, rotating element. But under those latitudes the prevailing winds are the trades, that is the north-eastern, and in the north-east of Mexico lay *Cuectlan*, the land of the Huastecs.

Lastly, the view seems to be not at all excluded that the whole cycle of myths which turn on *Tollan* and *Quetzalcoatl* had their origin in the Huastec territory, or should be referred to that region. The districts inhabited by Huastec peoples—*Tuxpan* and *Papantla* and the conterminous coastlands, the land of the *Totonacas* and of the *Olmeca Uixtotin*—were the seat of a very ancient and highly developed culture, and from early times carried on an active intercourse with the Mexicans of the central tableland. By the Mexicans the Huastecs were also called *Touseyó*, which in his ethnographic chapter Sahagun explains with the term *toamajó*, 'our next,' 'our neighbour.' But in reality *touseyó* means 'our greater,' probably in the sense of 'our elder brother,' and by Molina is translated 'stranger,' 'alien' (*advenedizo*, *ostrangero*), only because those designated by this term belonged to a foreign population of different speech. In the stories which Sahagun relates about *Tollan* the *Touseyó* certainly



Fig. 348. The Fire Goddess and the Priest mortifying his flesh. Codex Borjia 59 (= Kingsborough 56).



Fig. 349. Hoxtyaani, the 'Fifth-enter,' the 'Sinner,' and metzli, the 'Moon.' Hieroglyph of the Earth-Goddess Tloqueatl.

play a part, however subordinate it may have been. But in the mythology and the religion of the Mexicans there is quite a multitude of things which point to *Cuectlan* and the *Cuecteca*—Huastecaland and the Huastecs. We cannot, however, acquire a deeper insight into these obscure relations until archaeological research has made better progress in those regions.

In the three parts of the manuscript under consideration, beside *Quetzalcoatl*, ruler of the second day-count, we see pictured a snake, which is hit by a spear in the middle of the body. On Sheet 87 of our manuscript the snake is painted yellow with shield-shaped black patches, while on Sheet 28 of our manuscript and in Codex Borjia (Fig. 343) it shows a pattern somewhat like that of a coral snake. Snakes showing markings of this kind I have hitherto as a rule designated as dragons, but they really seem intended to denote or to symbolise blood (*etzli*). We found it figured above (p. 19) with the penitent adulterer. We see it also issuing from the rim of the priest's ear gashed by the bone dagger (cf. Fig. 348, taken from Sheet 59 = Kingsborough 56). It is depicted with the warlike Earth Goddess *Tloqueatl*, and jointly with the scops-owl with the Death God. It is seen issuing from the mouth of the skeleton, which is seizing with its teeth a man tumbling head foremost into its mouth. In a word, everywhere the explanation as 'blood' seems to give a more satisfactory meaning than the interpretation as dragon. On the great colonial image also of the *Conatlicue*, of the so-called *Troymomiqui*, the two snakes starting

up from the surface of the neck without doubt also indicate the blood. And this very image, where the two snakes undoubtedly symbolise the blood spurting from the two aortae, I might adduce to explain the occasional *duality* with these blood-snakes, as for instance on Sheet 1 of our manuscript (cf. Figs. 17, 18 *supra*, p. 13). In Father *Juan de Córdoba's* Zapotec Vocabulary the 'red snake' (*culebra colorada*) is translated by *xima pitón mani*, 'the animal of the god's dish,' which of course can only mean the animal of the solar vessel, of the solar dish, i.e. of the *gucukricelli*, the sacrificial-blood vessel. But for this very reason it is a very characteristic symbol for this god, the reputed inventor of mortification and of blood-letting, while on the other hand it was in a measure possible only by ingenious explanations to make the representation of a dragon beside *Quetzalcoatl* at all intelligible.

The third day-count and its ruler stand in *Codex Borgia* in the right division of the lower half of Sheet 10, in our manuscript in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 29, and in the left side-column of Sheet 87.

This third day-count bears the name of *calli*, 'House,' and is hieroglyphically symbolised by the familiar picture of the Indian house, with its basement, the white walls built of stone or adobe, the wooden doorposts distinguished by their red colour, with which corresponds an upper lintel in like colour; lastly, the more or less steep roof consisting of straw or palm-leaf thatch, with its ridge often further set with a row of pointed stones apparently embedded in a mass of clay.

The Zapotec and the Maya names for this sign, *ela*, *gucela* and *abbal*, have a somewhat different meaning, namely 'Night,' and moreover something different is expressed by the term *uotan*, by which the Maya peoples of Chiapas named the third day-count, and which is to be translated 'Heart, Innermost.' It is evident that the notions that the word 'house' at once suggests have here been further developed in a special manner. The dark house was thought of *into* which the sun enters in the evening; and that is the *innermost* (part) of the earth. Now, this series of notions which is clearly presented by the names borne by the third day-count amongst the various tribes, enables us also to understand the nature of the deities who are entered in the picture-writings as rulers of this sign. There are first of all *Tepeyolloti*, the 'Heart of the Mountains,' whom we have already met as eighth of the nine Lords of the Night Hours, and about whom I have above given full particulars (pp. 102-105). Here he is represented on Sheet 10 of *Codex Borgia* and on Sheet 87 of our manuscript simply as a jaguar, and in fact on Sheet 87 of our manuscript crouching in a mountain cave enveloped in darkness. For the Mexicans the jaguar was the animal that devours the sun, at the time when the sun was devoured, that is, when a solar eclipse occurred. Hence for the Mexicans he denoted *darkness*, and his image, the god *Tepeyolloti*, is a god of caves, of the dark interior of the mountains. He accordingly stands by right as ruler of the sign which in its metaphorical sense means 'night.'

The second deity which is presented with this sign, and indeed in all three places under consideration, is not here figured in person, but only in a measure symbolised by the hieroglyph of one of its names. This is *Tlacoteotl*, the old Huastec Earth Goddess, who bears this very name of *Tlacoteotl*, 'Goddess of Dirt,' or also *Tlacuani*, the 'Fifth-eater,' that is, the 'Sinner,' because she is the representative of womanhood and of sexual intercourse, and is the goddess who likewise in a measure protects the adulterer, as I have above stated (pp. 100-102). And here, in all three places, or at least on Sheet 29 of our manuscript and in *Codex Borgia* (Fig. 349), we see distinctly figured a *tacauani*, a fifth-eater, a person eating his own ordure. On Sheet 87 of our manuscript the corresponding figure merely holds the fifth (*tlaelli*, *cuittatl*), the symbol of sin, in his hand, without being here represented as conveying the fifth to his mouth, as in the two other places. But that no ordinary 'fifth-eater,' no ordinary sinner or adulterer is meant, but the very goddess who bears this name, is again clearly exhibited in the two above-mentioned places, Sheet 10 of *Codex Borgia* (Fig. 349), and Sheet 29 of our manuscript, since here with the *tlaelli*, the filth, is combined the picture of the moon (*metzli*), which is indicated in

the usual way by a nasal crescent of bone with a rabbit seated in a watery field. For the ancient Mexicans, like the Hindus of Sanskrit speech, saw in our 'Man in the Moon' a rabbit, and explained the present fainter brightness of the moon by the myth that the gods hung a rabbit in the face of the moon, which originally shone as brilliantly as the sun. And elsewhere also in the picture-writings the moon is figured beside *Tlapotecol*. But this goddess herself is an appropriate representative of the day-count here entered in the third place, because *Tlapotecol* is just the representative of the region of the evening, of the house in which the sun disappears, of the interior of the earth. *Tlalli iyollo*, 'Heart of the earth,' is given as one of her very names.

The fourth day-count and its ruler stand in Codex Borgia in the left division of the lower half of Sheet 10, in our manuscript in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 29, and in the right column of Sheet 88.

The day-count bears the name of *cuetzpālin*, 'Lizard,' and is symbolised by an animal as a rule painted a blue colour, or also black or half blue half red, with lizard-like head and long tail. Strictly speaking, the large edible lizards, the *Leguane*, are intended, which by the Mexicans were called *cuetz-pālin* and *anuecuetzpālin*.<sup>1</sup> The first word presumably denotes the *Crotosaurus completa*, the black, or more correctly the black speckled leguan; the second the more aquatic true leguane, of a shimmering green or half-blue colour, the *Iguana tuberculata* and allied species. In Codex Vaticanus A (No. 3738) the sign is given as indicating 'segno l'acqua,' as '*l'abbondanza de acqua*.' This is scarcely intelligible when we think of the ordinary lizards, which gambol in the very hottest, sunniest places, on walls and rocks exposed to the glare of the sun, but it might have some meaning if those leguane are intended which live in troops by the water. The interpreter of Codex Vaticanus A (No. 3738) relates that when no rain had fallen for four years in *Tolcan*, and the people were dying of hunger, *Quetzalcoatl* appeased the wrath of the gods by his mortifications and penitential exercises, and then—'sparve sopra la terra una lacerta raspando dandole ad intendere, che già cessava il flagello dal cielo, et che la terra fruttificarebbe con allegrezza, che presto era per venire; et così dicono che subito venne in tanta abbondanza, che la terra, quale era stata tanti anni sterile, ha prodotto molti frutti.'<sup>2</sup> So a lizard scratches on the ground, and lo! the earth is at once fruitful, as the interpreter here relates. But this is just what the Mexican popular belief ascribed to the leguane, of which Dr. Hernandez reports:—'in quibus omnibus illud videtur mirabile, terram reptatam eorum abdomine, ventre pinguescere, ac feri longe ampliciora.'<sup>3</sup>

With this another special relation appears to be connected. In the pictures where the various day-counts are assigned to the parts of the body of a man, of *Tezcatlipoca*, or of the god *Xochipilli* disguised as a deer, the sign *cuetzpālin* is sometimes entered beside the penis,<sup>4</sup> sometimes beside the womb of the women ('*Lagartixa nella madrice delle donne*').<sup>5</sup> Hence the sexual instinct and the sexual act soon to be represented by this sign. Here is at once an interesting parallel to Old World notions, since throughout medieval times, and doubtless from the remotest antiquity, a species of Old World lizard, the common skink, was regarded as a most potent aphrodisiac. Moreover, *Cornwall Gesser* reports that the flesh of the specified animal 'is also thought to have a special efficacy in *exciting to incontinence*.' And with this the popular Mexican belief is again in accordance, since Hernandez relates, not indeed of the common lizards, nor even of the leguane, but of the nocturnal sluggish crustaceans

<sup>1</sup> Corrected for the words *cuetzpālin* and *anuecuetzpālin* given by Hernandez. The first should undoubtedly be written *quecuetzpālin*. And that *anuecuetzpālin* should be corrected to *aquecuetzpālin* in Hernandez' way of spelling is at once evident from his designating the *quecuetzpālin* as a 'genus terrestris' of the *aquecuetzpālin* ('Sunt etiam in hoc genere terrestris, *quecuetzpālin* vocata').—Hernandez, *Historia Reptilium Novae Hispaniae*, chap. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 7 and 7 back (= Kingsborough 16, 11).

<sup>3</sup> *Historia Reptilium Novae Hispaniae*, chap. iv. (ed. 1, Romae 1651), Appendix, p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> Codex Borgia 17, 83, and 72 (= Kingsborough 22, 82, and 43).

<sup>5</sup> Codex Vaticanus A (Nr. 3738), fol. 54 (= Kingsborough 75).

Heloderma armed with venomous fangs, which the old Mexicans called *acaltepetonli*, the 'escorpion' of the present Spanish-speaking Mexicans:—'Lamborum caro ingusta duorum obolorum pondere, venerem mirum in modum dicitur excitare, neque ea in re Scineis colore.'<sup>1</sup> What this belief rests on is difficult to say. The interpreter of Codex Telleriano-Remensis<sup>2</sup> brings sin into association with the lizard and says—'y como la lagartija anda desanda.' But the common lizards are not exactly suggestive of *nakol-noax*. But that for the artists of the picture-writings incontinence or the incentive thereto was the self-understood meaning of the animal *enetzpalin*, we have an eminent proof in the two little pictures



Fig. 350b. *Xochipilli-Itzamontqui* and the two Goddesses of Love.  
—*Xochiquetzal*, Representative of Wedlock,  
and *Xochisiquetzal*, Patroness of the Courtisans (as above),  
the Female Associates of the Warriors (*moqui*).  
Codex Borgia 10 (= Kingsborough 56).



Fig. 350c. *Xochipilli-Itzamontqui* with the  
Lizard (*enetzpalin*), Sign of Incontinence,  
and *Xochiquetzal*, Goddess of Love.

Codex Laud 37

(Kingsborough's notation);  
Codex Vaticanus 3773, Sheet 33  
(= Kingsborough 81).

Figs. 350b and 350c, which in Codex Laud and in our manuscript stand for the picture at Fig. 350a of Codex Borgia. Obviously in Fig. 350a an obscene incident is represented, as I shall have more fully to elucidate in the twelfth division farther on. It is a picture under which one is tempted to put the title of a well-known subject by Titian. But in the pictures at Figs. 350b and 350c this obscene incident the artist has expressed by the simple device of placing a lizard (*enetzpalin*) in the arm of the male person. It is doubtless clear enough that with the sign *enetzpalin* we have to look upon this meaning of incontinence or of the incentive thereto, the sexual impulse, as the original, and that the other, the fertilising power which was ascribed to the sign, appears as a sequel.

<sup>1</sup> *Herum Medicarum Novae Hispaniae, Liber IX* (Bonnæ 1651, p. 315).

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 16 back (= Kingsborough II. 18).

This view is confirmed by the very names (*ghanan, kva*) which the fourth day-count bore amongst the Maya peoples, since those terms may be translated 'present in superabundance,' 'plenty of food supplies.' And so in the Maya manuscripts the hieroglyph of this sign is put simply for 'maize.'

In the series of the *Tonalamatl* divisions a god named *Uucocoyotl*, 'the Old Coyote,' is mentioned by the interpreters as ruler of the fourth sign. And in truth in all three parts of the picture-writings under consideration with the fourth day-count we see an animal figured with a rather long head of a boar of prey, pointed ears, and long tail, which as a special character shows a yellow field about the eye, such as is really seen, although not of such a large size, with the *Canis latrans*, the coyote or prairie wolf. On Sheet 88 of our manuscript the animal has no kind of adornment, but on Sheet 29 is figured with a tuft of feathers on its head, and in Codex Borgia it wears a fillet with a cotings tail on the frontal side (like the Fire God), three extended hands (like the Sun God), on its nape a large arara bird, and an ear pendant consisting of ring and ray, elements of the solar picture.

Wherever in the other series, that of the guardians of the *Tonalamatl* divisions, this god stands as ruler of the fourth *Tonalamatl* division, he is distinctly figured as the *Dance God*; in Codex Borbonicus, for instance, with the gourd-rattle (*ayacachtli*) in one hand, a flower in the other. But on Sheet 88 of our manuscript instead of these objects we find a kind of staff, with a jaguar head at the lower end, at the upper a jewel or a flower enclosed by yellow feathers. It seems to me not impossible that this was intended for a dancing-red, a bâton, which was struck on the ground in beating time at the dance, as is repeatedly described with the dances that accompanied one or another of the religious feasts.

On Sheet 10 of Codex Borgia from the coyote's mouth is seen protruding the tail end of a snake coloured in the style of the coral adder, which, as we have seen, must denote *blood*. And beside it there issues a narrow streak of blood which passes into the open beak of a bird which is figured above, and here in Codex Borgia has the appearance of a small bird of prey. On Sheet 29 of our manuscript we miss the blood and the coral adder, but opposite the coyote is figured a bird which here also has the look of a bird of prey. On Sheet 88 of our manuscript we see, as in Codex Borgia, the tail end of a coral snake protruding from the mouth of the coyote. But the bird which is figured above might rather be taken for a turkey.

Lastly, on the Codex Borgia sheet and on Sheet 29 of our manuscript, below the coyote is further pictured a man who is lying on or darting on to the ground, but is missing on Sheet 88 of our manuscript.

The *Canis latrans*, with whom, as with all the members of that stock, the sexual feeling is strongly developed, and who in the rutting season is in an extraordinary state of excitement, appears as an appropriate personation of the sign *cuetzpaltin*, whose special significance, as I have above set forth, lies in the efficacy attributed to the lizard on the sexual passion and on reproduction. That this relation was thought of with the *Uucocoyotl*, is at once inferred from the fact that the interpreters bring this animal into association with the guilt of Adam, with the fall of the first man. But I am further of opinion that the *sexual act* itself was intended to be denoted by the coral snake and the narrow stream of blood which is here seen issuing from the mouth of the old coyote. At least with the first human pair figured on Sheet 61 (= Kingsborough 54) of Codex Borgia beside *Tonacatecutli*, ruler of the first *Tonalamatl* division, a stream of blood is similarly seen issuing from the mouth of both persons, who are obviously thought of as in the sexual union, and here doubtless the stream certainly expresses the union of blood, the intermingling of the vital energies. If this explanation be allowed, then it will necessarily follow further that the bird, which in Codex Borgia is united with the coyote by the line of blood passing from mouth to mouth, is the second member of the pair, that it corresponds to the woman *Ixneztli*, who, as we shall see below, is figured facing the *Uucocoyotl*, ruler of the fourth *Tonalamatl* division, in the series of the guardians of the *Tonalamatl* divisions.

I will not venture to decide whether the man is to be brought into this connection who is

to be seen pictured with the coyote and darting on to the ground. Possibly we have really to think of the '*cauda del primer hombre*,' that is, of the old myth which we shall have again to discuss with the sixteenth sign, the myth of the *Tamoanchan* or *Xochill icatan* land, where dwelt *Tonacacutti* and *Tamoanchan*, and from which the children of this primeval god were expelled and came to the earth, because they had broken a flower.

Lastly, the rôle which, as we shall see, is played by the old coyote in the series of the guardians of the *Tonalamatl* divisions, where he is represented as the *God of the Dance and of Music*, has perhaps been brought about by a further development of the notion which properly underlies this sign and this god, the impulse by which man and woman are brought together being completed by the general notion of pleasure absolutely, of indulgence in worldly enjoyments of all kinds. But it is also possible that the musical qualities which the coyote decidedly possesses, and for that very reason is called *Canis latrans* and howling wolf, may have had its weight in this connection. At least this is suggested by the circumstance that amongst other tribes, too, the coyote or the wolf plays a similar part. The Dance Gods of the Hopis of Arizona, the *Katkins*, wear the coyote's tail; and *Nemateon*, the Dance God of the Chiricbas, who is at once the God of Feasting and of Industrial Crafts, appears as a fox (*To or Fo*) with long tail trailing on the ground.

The interpreters identify *Utsucogatl* with *Tatacawata*, the *God of the Otomi*, and it is possible, even probable, that the Otomi did worship a god in the form of a coyote. But it is also no doubt possible that the Otomi, rude and boorish by nature, immoderate and unbridled in things sexual, and fond of wasting their means and the yearly harvests in continual carousing, may have appeared to the Mexicans as the genuine children of this coyote god.

When, lastly, the interpreters further call this god the 'malign,' that is, the stirrer-up of strife, the mischief-maker, and tell us that this is the real meaning of his name, it may be that here again a natural observation of the quarrelsome habits of this animal was the occasion for calling a disturber of the peace an 'old coyote.' But this does not appear to stand in direct relation to the character ascribed to this god as ruler of the fourth sign.

The fifth sign and its ruler stand in Codex Borgia on the right side of the lower half of Sheet 11, in our manuscript in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 30, and in the middle column of Sheet 88.

The fifth day-count is called *cosatl*, 'Snake,' and is hieroglyphically symbolised by the picture of this animal in more or less realistic, or more or less heraldic representation. Its ruler is *Chalchikiltlicue*, 'she whose emana consists of green jewels (*chalchikiltl*),' the lady of *flowing water*. And rightly so, for at all times the moving flowing water has ever been compared with the snake. Religious sites which are dedicated to the water deity, such, for instance, as the Pilon de azúcar visited by Hernanu Strobil, are crowded with images of snakes together with those of frogs.

In Codex Borgia the goddess is figured exactly in the same way as we have already met her (cf. Fig. 292 *supra*, p. 99) as sixth of the nine lords—with the snake's throat as helmet-mask, the two short, black, rectangular bands on the lower edge of the cheek, and the garment painted in the colours of the hieroglyph *chalchikiltl*. Only here the nasal ornament is more distinctly drawn as a two-headed snake, and her hair is bound round with a chain of shell disks, as is also appropriate to her as Water Goddess.

In our manuscript the ruler of this sign is reproduced in less characteristic and in divergent form. In the first place it is no female but a male god, no *Chalchikiltlicue* but a *Chalchikiltlatonac*. It is a god who in a general way recalls *Xochipilli*, as we shall later make the acquaintance of this deity, and is obviously represented as merely a particular form of this god so often figured in the manuscripts of the Codex Borgia group. In his pierced nasal septum is inserted a jewelled rod. His hair is bound up with the usual head-strap which bears a conventional bird's head on the frontal side. On Sheet 30 of our manuscript this ruler of the sign *cosatl*, 'Snake,' also wears like *Xochipilli* an



apparently cross-like adornment of white feathers at his nape, and his hip-cloth has a border below painted in the colours of the hieroglyph *chalchicuitl* ('Green Jewel'). But even more than *Xochipilli* himself he is the *Chalchihuitlanac*, 'he who is resplendent with jewels,' and the *Tlozopilli*, the 'Noble Prince' (a byname of *Xochipilli*). For on his head lies a bunch of feathers (*isitemolli*) which encloses a flowering stalk. The head of a *quetzalcozcuilli* bird is set upon the *tezcacuitlapilli*, i.e. the disk covered with turquoise mosaic, which fastens the posterior bow of the hip-cloth; and below it hangs the posterior end of the loin-cloth in the form of a broad band painted in the colour of the *chalchicuitl* hieroglyph. The god of Sheet 88 of our manuscript further wears on his wrist the four jewelled beads disposed as a cross, which we shall again somewhat frequently meet in this manuscript as the special adornment of *Xochipilli* and the related figures.

Above the *Chalchihuitlicue*, ruler of the fifth day-count in Codex Borgia, is seen a vessel with a burnt-offering (bundle of firewood and rubber ball). Beside it is a number of grass stalks apparently strung together on a thread, or fitted together to form a cover. And lastly a bird which resembles the small bird of prey which was figured with *Uucucogotl*, but above the wings is furnished with two human arms, and in one of these human hands it holds a number (three) of stalks or culms. The identity of the underlying motive between the ruler of the fifth sign in Codex Borgia distinctly drawn as Water Goddess and the *Xochipilli*-like male deity in our manuscript in my opinion finds very clear expression in the circumstance that with our male deity the same accessories are drawn as with the *Chalchihuitlicue* of Codex Borgia. Certainly the dish with the burnt-offering is absent; but the blades of grass arranged to form a cover are shown, as is also the *mototoll*, the little bird of prey furnished with arms and here, too, holding three stalks or rods in one hand. What these secondary figures or symbols exactly mean I cannot state with certainty. On Sheet 88 of our manuscript we miss the grass stalks disposed in form of a cover. But the *mototoll* has not been forgotten; except that instead of two arms only one hand is visible above the wing.

The sixth sign and its ruler stand in Codex Borgia in the left division of the lower half of Sheet 11, in our manuscript in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 30, and on Sheet 88 in the column forming the left third.

The day-count is *miquiztli*, 'Death,' or *tzotzacoatl*, 'Skull,' as it is drawn in the Mexitlan list, and is everywhere symbolised by a dead man's skull. Its ruler, strange to say, is not the Death God, but the god who wears the marine snail's shell (*tezcitli*) on his brow, that is, *Teciztecatl*, the Moon God. The Moon God, as I have already above stated, bears this name, perhaps on the one hand because he has his phases, at times withdrawing half or altogether into his shell. But on the other hand—and this is what the interpreters lay stress upon—it seems as if he owed this name to the relation in which the moon stands towards women, to the influence which it exercises on the bodies of women. For as the interpreter of Codex Telleriano-Remensis says,—'asi como sale del hueso el caracol, asi sale el hombre del vientre de su madre.'

As in the preceding sign a female deity was given in Codex Borgia, and a male in our manuscript, so here, too, the Moon God is represented as a female in Codex Borgia, as a male in our manuscript. But in both documents the moon is conceived as an *old deity*, as a grey-haired man or woman, and is figured in our manuscript with the corners of the mouth contracted as with aged people, in Codex Borgia with the curious ring-shaped appendage below the upper lip which seems to have arisen from a mistaken reproduction of that contracted corner of the mouth.

The Moon Goddess of Codex Borgia is painted yellow, the colour of women. With her the duller light of the moon appears to be expressed by the simple plain white colour of the clothing. The gloom in which the moon shines is symbolised beside it by a kind of open throat, which in its entire breadth consists of darkness studded with eyes, the symbol of night. With the Moon God of our manuscript

the duller light seems on the contrary intended to be indicated by the colour of the body itself, which on both sheets of our manuscript is blue, that is, dark. The face is likewise painted blue on Sheet 30, but on Sheet 88 of our manuscript half blue half red, as with the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer *Micouatl* (cf. Fig. 315 *supra*, p. 115), who indeed also symbolises the gloaming or fainter light. Moreover, on Sheet 30 of our manuscript he is figured with a long beard enframing the chin. The adornments with which this god is arrayed seem, strange to say, to bring him into relation with *Xochipilli*. On Sheet 30 of our manuscript he wears *Xochipilli's* jewelled brass-plate hanging from a jewelled chain, for which, however, on Sheet 88 he shows the Dance God's rattle ornament *ayomalli* sliced from a muscle-shell; and in both places of our manuscript he is furnished with the apparently crest-shaped nape ornament of white feathers which in our manuscript is characteristic of *Xochipilli*, and which I have just described with the preceding sign, with *Cholchihuatlanac*, who is manifestly merely a form of *Xochipilli*. In another place we shall make the acquaintance of the Moon God as God of the Dance and Music. Hence it seems that here, decked with *Xochipilli's* ornament, he appears only as another form of *Xochipilli*.

As secondary figures in Codex Borgia are given a vessel entwined by a dragon with a burnt-offering (bundle of firewood and rubber ball), and a quetzal bird which holds in its claws a black object bent like a hook and pointed like a thorn. The burnt-offering is in like manner further to be seen in both parts of our manuscript here under consideration. As with the nine Lords of the Night Hours, this object is doubtless intended to indicate the fires that during the whole night flared up on the upper platform of the temple pyramids. On Sheet 30 of our manuscript before the burnt-offering is likewise figured, though quite small, the bird with the bent black thorn in its claws. I cannot, however, say what this picture is meant to signify.

The seventh day-count and its ruler stand in Codex Borgia in the right division of the lower half of Sheet 12, in our manuscript in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 31, and in the column on the right side of Sheet 89.

The seventh day-count bears the name of *maçatl*, 'Deer,' and is symbolised by the head or the whole figure of this animal. Codex Borgia reproduces him rather true to nature with his longish head and incisors only in the lower jaw, but never draws him with antlers. In Fejérváry, too, the deer is, as a rule, figured without antlers. In the other picture-writings he has one antler, but only with two tines turned forwards, and painted a blue colour, like all the skinny and horny parts.

For the Mexicans the deer was the emblem of drought, of the waterless sun-parched soil. Where reference is made in Codex Vaticanus A to the *Quetzalcoatl* and *Tollua* myths,<sup>1</sup> the four 'signi della loro superstitione' are mentioned, there having obviously a distinct relation to the quarters of the heavens (Fig. 351):—*maçatl*, 'Deer,' *telli*, 'Stone,' *cuetzpalli*, 'Lizard,' and *cinilli*, 'Maize.' The maize is naturally a symbol of plenty of food supplies, of wealth; the stone of barrenness. But with the deer the interpreter explains:—'*lingono che così diventano li huomini ingrati.*' And in another part of the same manuscript, where mention is made of the day-counts answering to the quarters of the heavens, the interpreter says of the picture of the deer:—'*per la quale significano la diligenza de li huomini in cercar il bisogno per sustentarsi.*' Therefore drought, wantonness, famine are what the sign of the deer denotes. We have even above seen that with the picture of the deer *flame*, fire was indicated (see Figs. 28 and 111 *supra*, pp. 17 and 37). So, too, in the 'Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas,' the deer is identified with the Goddess of Fire herself, that is, the goddess of *Xochimilco*, who is a goddess of fire, as I have shown in my elucidation of the *Tonaltematl* of the Aubin collection.<sup>2</sup> With the deer—that is, with him as his back device or disguise—

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 7 back (= Kingsborough 11).

<sup>2</sup> Berlin and London, 1890-1907, p. 115. Cf. also *infra* the statement in chap. xiv. with the 18th *Tonaltematl* division.

*Mizcanatl*, the Fire-driller, the god who first kindled fire with the sticks, gains his victory over the enemy.

New, as ruler of this sign which denotes drought, rainlessness, famine, there appears, strange to say, not a figure related to the Fire God, but *Tinloc* the Rain God, whom in fact we likewise meet in other parts of the picture-writings (cf. Fig. 351a, p. 152) associated with the deer. This is not, as I formerly supposed, the result of an effort to give expression to contrasting concepts; nor yet the expression of the fact that the Rain God is also the god that strikes with lightning. But, as I first set forth in my elucidation of the *Tonantzinatl* of the Aubin collection,<sup>1</sup> it is to be attributed to the circumstance that the ancient priestly sages supposed that with the word *quianuitl*, 'Rain,' we should in the first place think of the *quianuktonitl*, the 'Rain-Sun,' which was one of the four pre-historic, or, so to say, pre-cosmic epochs of the world, but was not a time of the deluge, but the period of the rain of fire, 'when fire rained from heaven and volcanic ashes, when the scorie and hailstones were strewn about, when the foam-stone (bubbling lava) foamed up, and the red (lava) rocks arose.'

On the Rain God I have already above given full particulars in the section on the nine Lords of the Night Hours (cf. pp. 105, 106). Here he is again painted a green colour in Codex Borgia, in our manuscript black. Both in Codex Borgia and on Sheet 31 of our manuscript, he shows on his head a looped band painted in the colours of the Rain God—alternately green and *apizimac*, that is, a white hue spotted with black dots of liquefied rubber, or alternately black and a green hue spotted with rubber. And on the top of this is seen the symbol of darkness, or of night, or of the night sky, the eye enveloped in eye-studded darkness, to which I have already referred in connection with *Quetzalcoatl*, and which is figured in the pictures of *Quetzalcoatl* where this god does not wear his usual cone-shaped cap, the Huastec *capilli*. It is strange that in the third of the places here under consideration, Sheet 89 of our manuscript, the Rain God is figured without this eye enveloped in darkness on his head, but instead of it with a peaked cap, which in its form resembles that of *Quetzalcoatl*, but is painted in cross bands with the above-mentioned colours of the Rain God. This cap, however, has presumably a different origin, being a remnant of the hieroglyph of the year with which the Rain God is often depicted.

Above or before the Rain God, in Codex Borgia and on Sheet 31 of our manuscript, is seen a burning house, on which lies a flaming axe (symbol of lightning?), and beside or below it a stream of water with snails or fishes. This we may confidently look on as a kind of hieroglyph of the *teyucanatl*, the fiery rain, whose representative is the Rain God himself. Instead of this composite picture, on Sheet 89 of our manuscript is shown nothing but a hurrying house, and within it a tailed animal armed with the claws of beasts of prey, which, however, owing to the small size and incompleteness of the picture, I cannot venture to identify. Obviously here, instead of the fiery rain, it is intended to represent fire alone.

The eighth sign and its ruler stand in Codex Borgia in the left division of the lower half of Sheet 12, in our manuscript in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 31, and in the central column of Sheet 89.

<sup>1</sup> Berlin and London, 1890-1891, p. 63.



Fig. 351.

The Four Signs.

- a. *sequetl*, venado fingeno che cost diventava li keomani ingenti.
- b. *tefl*, pedra, segno di sterilità.
- c. *quetzallli*, lagertim segno di acqua.
- d. *ceatl*, trigo segno d'alboradana.

Codex Vaticanus A  
(Nr. 3726) fol. 7 back  
(= Kingsborough 11).

The eighth day-count bears the name of *tochtli*, 'Rabbit,' and is symbolised by the head or the whole figure of this animal, which is always pictured with long ears, round eyes, and incisors hanging long down.

The rabbit, the animal that burrows in the ground, was for the Mexicans an emblem of the earth. On the day *ca tochtli*, 'one Rabbit,' according to the interpreters and the text of the *Anales de Quauhtlan*, the earth was created.

In a special manner the rabbit was held to be an image of the Earth Gods, of the Harvest Gods, of the *Centzontochtli*, the 'Four Hundred

Rabbits,' that is, of the Pulque Gods, whom we shall have more fully to discuss below, for whom, when the crops were garnered, feasts and carousings were held. But as ruler of this sign appears, not the Pulque Gods themselves, but the personification of the plant, from the sap of which was obtained by a natural process of fermentation the intoxicating liquor, which is now called 'pulque,' a word derived from the language of the natives of Chile, but by the ancient Mexicans was named *octli*. This plant is the *maguey*, the agave americana, which, after the discovery of America, was transplanted to the Mediterranean lands, where it has become a characteristic feature of the landscape in many districts. The ancient Mexicans called the plant *mell*, and the goddess who personified it *Maguezel*. According to the interpreter of Codex Vaticanus A, *Maguezel* was a woman with four hundred breasts, who on account



Fig. 351a. *Tlalor*, the Rain God, and *maguey*, the Decc.  
Codex Fajrévry-Mayer 26  
(= Kingsborough 19).

of her fecundity was by the gods transformed to the agave plant. In Sahagun *Maguezel* is simply called the discoverer of the pulque extract:—*ye achtopa quítate tlachiquiliztli itoca Maguezel ca civitl*,<sup>1</sup> 'era muger la que comenzó y supo primero ahugar los magueyos para sacar la miel de que se hace el vino, y llamábase *Maguezel*.'

The goddess is everywhere figured seated before or on the agave plant, which the artists of the picture-writings always understand how to reproduce tolerably true to nature, with its stiff leaves curved slightly outwards, and furnished with spines at the tips and along the edges, and with its tall spike of bloom. On Sheet 31 of our manuscript above the root of the plant is further seen a snake, while in Codex Laud 9 (Kingsborough's notation) the plant rises above a turtle which rests on a dragon designed in the form of a coral snake. The goddess herself is here in Codex Borgia pictured with a white garment, but which is edged with a broad band painted in the colour of the green jewel (*chulchivítil*), hence to a certain extent resembles that of the Water Goddesses. In her nose she wears a blue plate which tapers step-fashion, and resembles *Xochiquetzal's yacocaputell*. As with the Sun God, her flame-coloured hair is bound up with a jewelled chain which bears a conventional bird's head on the frontal side. The tuft of feathers also (*isitemelli*) on the head of the goddess is like that worn by the Sun God, for instance, on Sheet 15 (= Kingsborough 24) of Codex Borgia. Doubtless, by this device it was intended to give expression to the 'fiery drink.' The same fundamental elements are likewise presented by the display on the figures of our manuscript. On Sheet 89 of our manuscript the goddess holds in one hand a bowl from which the flower-studded liquor foams out, in the other a dish full of stone knives, for pulque is the 'sharp' drink.

Above or beside the goddess in all three places under consideration is figured the *pulque jug* (*octecomall*), a large bulging vessel with round bottom, with the flower-studded liquor, the pulque foaming out of the spout. In Codex Borgia round the neck of the vessel is wound a *tetenitl*, a paper painted with acute-angled figures similar to those we find used for the dress and array of the *Citampiltin* and other Earth Goddesses, as well as with the bodies packed up for cremation. In the Mexican text papers

<sup>1</sup> Sahagun, x. chap. xix. § 12, no. Biblioteca Academia de la Historia.

painted in this way are called *tlaitzotzintli* or *tlaitzotzcualli*. Little paper flags painted in a similar way also stand out at the sides of the jug. The jug itself is pierced by an arrow, and as if in consequence of the wound thereby caused blood issues from behind the vessel. The piercing arrow and the blood are likewise figured with the pulque jug on Sheet 29 of our manuscript. A noteworthy peculiarity is shown by Sheet 31 of our manuscript, where the head of a little man and of a little woman are seen in the pulque protruding from the mouth of the jug. The face of the first is painted red, the colour of men; that of the woman has a yellow colour, and below the nose hangs the blue step-shaped nasal plate *yoocoyotzpalotl* of the goddess *Xocikuetzal*. Obviously by this picture, as doubtless also by the *tlaitzotzintli* figures decorating the pulque jug, *vine and woman* are brought into relation. Even now, for instance, amongst the Indians of Vera Paz, the marriage ceremony is officially concluded by the bridegroom handing the brandy-bottle to the bride.

Sheet 31 of our manuscript has still a few other representations which are lacking in the two other places here under consideration. Above is seen an animal painted a white colour, which has a pointed snout, a long tail, and before its eyes a black design tapering to a point towards the snout, hence in all essentials like the animal which we have met in the lower half of Sheet 9 of our manuscript as indicating the lower region of the earth. In my elucidation of Codex Fejérváry<sup>1</sup> I have pointed out that this same animal is also to be recognised in the animal-headed priest who, on the famous Sheets 25 to 28 of the Dresden Mays manuscript, introduces the representative of the new year (cf. Fig. 352).

It is certainly remarkable that here on Sheet 31 of our manuscript this animal holds in one hand indeed a pulque bowl, but in the other the same object looking like a fan or a bell-studded ring (it is probably the latter, a musical instrument), as does the animal-headed priest of the Dresden manuscript.

Lastly, on Sheet 31 of our manuscript before the pulque jug are further to be seen, leaning back to back, a man painted a red colour and a skeleton painted a blue colour, each holding in his or its hand a dish from which a snake's head is issuing. The snake's head naturally has reference to the nature of the drink which forms the subject of this section. The whole group recalls the large double group *Quetzalcoatl-Mictlantecutli*, which is seen on Sheets 75, 76 of our manuscript, which seems to symbolise the contrast between heaven and earth, between life and death, and will have again to be discussed below.

The ninth sign and its ruler stand in Codex Borgia in the first division of the lower half of Sheet 13, in our manuscript in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 32, and in the column on the left side of Sheet 89.

The ninth sign bears the name of *atl*, 'Water,' and is as a rule symbolised by a vessel with water. In the water is not rarely seen, as in those parts of our manuscript here under consideration, the hieroglyph *chalcuicuitl*, 'Green Jewel,' which naturally indicates to the observer the precious nature of this element so valuable for the wellbeing of mankind. In Codex Borgia the vessel is regularly conceived as the open bill of a bird whose head and feather crest are formed by the water filling the vessel and flowing in separate streams. Then, in order to make the comparison more complete, an eye is figured just as regularly in the water. This interpretation of the water-vessel explains the reason why in our manuscript and in other related picture-writings the lower and outer rim of the vessel is garnished with teeth.



Fig. 352. The Animal-headed Priest introducing the God of the Ken Sign, Image of the albal Year, Dresden Mays Manuscript 27.

<sup>1</sup> Berlin and London, 1901-1905, pp. 140, 141

As ruler of this sign there again appears a god who apparently represents the very element that is opposed and hostile to the nature of water, namely *fire*. But, as I have first shown in my elucidation of the *Tonalamatl* of the Aubin collection, this remarkable fact is simply explained by the consideration that with *atl* they thought not of 'water,' but of the *teotl*, the 'real, the true *atl*,' of *atl-tlachinalli*, 'Water (Spear-throwing) and Conflagration,' the metaphorical indication of war. *Atl*, the designation for 'water,' is perhaps a later derivation from a root *a*, 'to throw, hurl, shoot,' and means something like 'the shooting,' that is, the swiftly flowing by. Compare *a-tla-tl*, 'wherewith one shoots,' *i.e.* the throwing-stick. As lord, not of the *atl*, 'Water,' but of the *atl*, shooting, of the *teotl*, of the *atl-tlachinalli*, of shooting and burning, *i.e.* of war, the Fire God may well be named, since he wields the 'shooting implement,' the throwing-stick, the blue throwing-stick *xinoktatl*, fashioned in the form of a snake. This meaning the Fire God unquestionably had in the belief and in the sphere of thought of the Mexicans, as appears from numerous statements. And thus also it is explained by the interpreter of Codex Vaticanus A, since he took for the name of the god himself the word *xinoktatl*, which the commentator of Codex Telleriano-Remensis or of its original had entered beside the throwing-stick which the god holds in his hand—'questo *xinoktatl* che qui resta dipinto che era l'antico-ato della guerra.'



Fig. 353. *rod*, Scorpion, and *teotl-tlachinalli*, 'Water (Spear-throwing) and Conflagration' (= *war*), 'War.' Codex Borgia 13 (= Kingsborough 25).

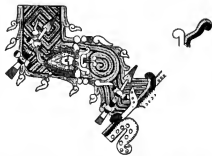


Fig. 354. *teotl-tlachinalli*. Codex Borgia 60 (= Kingsborough 66).

By the Mexicans the Fire God was called *Iroqnauhqui*, 'he of the yellow face'; *Xiuhtecuhtli*, 'Lord of the Turquoise or of the Year,' or else the 'Turquoise Lord,' the 'Blue Lord'; and *Cuepalzin*, 'the Flame'; but also *Uenetzotl*, 'the Old God,' and *Tota*, 'Our Father.' We met him above as first of the nine lords, and there also I have described the chief articles of his attire.

As lord of the ninth day-count he is figured in Codex Borgia in exactly the same way as we met him above, and as he is reproduced at Fig. 288, p. 95. Only the fillet, to which is attached on the frontal side the *cotinga* bird flying downwards, is still more distinctly seen to be quite covered with mosaic work as a *chulchichitotelli*. Similarly on the two sheets of our manuscript he is on the whole pictured as in the other places where we have met him in this manuscript. Only the part of his face which is not black, and in Codex Borgia is painted a red colour in harmony with the rest of the body, and as it was likewise shown on Sheet 19 of our manuscript, is here on Sheets 31 and 89 painted yellow with slender thread-shaped longitudinal stripes of red colour; hence here the god is an *Iroqnauhqui*, a 'yellow-faced one,' as in Telleriano-Remensis and in the Sahagun manuscript.

In all three places a scorpion (*rod*) is given beside or above the god. The scorpion's sting causes a burning pain. Hence doubtless this beast is compared to the Fire God. Now by in Codex Borgia (Fig. 353) and on Sheet 32 of our manuscript are figured a burning house with a man inside lying on the ground, and a stream of water, which in our manuscript again sweeps along the hieroglyph *chulchichitl*,

'Green Jewel,' and all kinds of aquatic animals (snail-shells), while in Codex Borjia (Fig. 353) in it are seen objects like tongues of flame painted yellow and brown, which are evidently intended to show that we have here to do, not with the ordinary water, but in fact with *teotl*, with *atl* in its proper meaning.

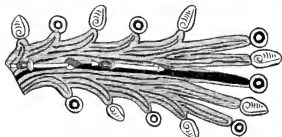


Fig. 353n. *teotl*. Codex Borbonicus 9.



Fig. 355b. *tlachinolli*. Codex Borbonicus 9.



Fig. 354. *teotl tlachinolli*, 'Water (Spear-throwing) and Conflagration' - 'war', 'War,' and Otomi Warrior fighting.

Pictorial Manuscript from Huastla (Territory of Tlaxcala). Alexander von Humboldt's Collection, III. iv. CX. Seber, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde*. Berlin, 1802, vol. I. p. 227-242.

Without doubt the whole group is merely a form of the hieroglyph *atl-tlachinolli* or *teotl-tlachinolli*, 'Water (Spear-throwing) and Conflagration'; the above-mentioned metaphorical indication of war, whose representative is the Fire God himself! This form certainly deviates somewhat from the usual style,

<sup>1</sup> Here I should like once more emphatically to refer to the view advanced by Dr. Pruss that *tlachinolli* means 'burnt earth,' and that this hieroglyph is an expression of the nature of the deities of the earth. Certainly in *Malina tlachinolli* is translated 'quemar los campos y montes'; the applicative verb *tlachinolli* is 'quemar & otro los campos & montes', but rarely only because the

as this phrase is hieroglyphically expressed in the Mexican picture-writings proper (cf. Fig. 356). But it contains the same elements that these do, while certain transitional forms of this hieroglyph occurring with the Fire God, ruler of the ninth *Tonalamatl* division (cf. Figs. 354 and 355), leave no doubt that Fig. 353 is merely another hieroglyphic embodiment of the same phrase. This very representation here given with the ruler of the ninth day-count has served as a proof for me that I have rightly interpreted the day-count *atl*.

The tenth day-count and its ruler stand in Codex Borgin in the left division of the lower half of Sheet 13, in our manuscript in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 32, and in the column on the right side of Sheet 90.

The tenth day-count bears the name of *itscuintli*, 'Dog,' and is symbolised by the head or the whole figure or else the ear alone of this animal. Dogs were found both in ancient Mexico and in ancient Peru,



Fig. 357. pek, the Dog.  
Dresden  
Maya Manuscript 7a.



Fig. 358. Mummy-piek set up for the Dead Warriors.  
(Pictorial Manuscript of the Florentine  
Biblioteca Nazionale.)

and several varieties were even distinguished—the hairless (*zodotzi wintli*, the *pico-zodo* of the Zapotecs, called *bil* in the Maya language), the hump-backed turnspit-like (*itscuintepotzotli*), and the common, called *techioki* by Hernandez, the *pek* of the Yucatecs (which presumably means the lazy [dog] lying on the ground), the *ts'á* or *ok'* of the other Maya languages. In Codex Borgin and in Tellerianc-Renensis he is depicted white and black spotted, and so he is also painted in the Maya manuscripts. In our manuscript he is likewise painted yellow and black spotted, in others simply red. In most cases the tip of the ear is missing, having been torn or cut off. In the Mexican picture-writings the edge of the wound is indicated by a ragged or jagged bordering and a yellow colour (the yellow colour of the dead flesh).

The dog was kept by the Mexicans as a domestic animal and eaten by them. Hence in Yucatan and on

burning of the fields, i. e. of the sprouting weeds, was the most frequent case of the *theolochitli*, of burning or firing. There is absolutely nothing in the clause itself to connect it with the earth; nor are the fields the earth. The intensive *chicision*, when it refers to a material object, is by Molina translated 'holar vana verde ó cosa así'; when the reference is to a personal object: 'chamascar ó quemar ó otar,' and when used reflexively, 'chamascarse ó quemarse'; hence simply 'to fire, to burn, to temper in the fire.' And passages occur, as e. g. where that saucy young fellow who is chaffing the girl taking the seed-corn to the temple, is taunted by the women telling him he had better have his beynsh curls clipped and get his hair dressed like a warrior—*coo cacoicpac' coos molochisacim mowitl*, 'you are no woman like me, you don't get your rear arched' (i. e. always sitting at the fire like the women), which in the Spanish text Nahuatl somewhat more decently translates: 'tan mgur evo to como yo, en women hee salido de detras del fuego.'



the coastlands he was often used as a sacrificial animal as well. But he played a chief part in the *cult of the dead*. The Mexicans hold the belief that four years after death, when the soul had already experienced divers dangers on the road to the underworld, it reached the banks of a river, which was called the *Chicmucuhapán*, the 'ninefold stream,' and flowed round the underworld proper. But the souls could not get across this river unless they were expected by their little dog, who, on recognising his master on the opposite side, plunged into the water to bring him over.<sup>1</sup> Therefore at his burial the dead person at once received as companion a dog who was killed by the thrust of a dart in its neck, but had to be of a red-yellow colour, and have a string of unspun cotton tied round its neck, this being the kind of string appropriated to the region of earth, to the underworld. And when a warrior had remained in the hands of the enemy, hence though dead could not be buried (by his friends), instead of him they set up a false mummy-pack, to which they offered funeral rites, and did not fail to equip this effigy of the dead with a little dog, which was painted a blue colour and suspended at the paper band brought over the shoulders of the pack. In the case of kings and magnates the dog was doubtless worked in turquoise mosaic or carved (cf. Fig. 358) out of green stone, and was called *xobococotl*, 'the neck-band consisting of the servant, the personal attendant' (properly the monstrosity), because amongst the Mexican grandees it was customary to keep *xobome*, 'monstrosities' (dwarfs, hunchbacks, and the like), as servants for their pastime. From this close relation in which the dog stood to the cult of the dead I can also understand why the Maya hieroglyph of this animal (cf. the first hieroglyph to the left above at Fig. 357) contains as its chief element the reduced form of a skeleton. This hieroglyph is perhaps to be explained as 'the ferry-man to Hades.'

Whence arose this belief and this custom it is not easy to say. It may be that, as with the dead of both sexes their effects were deposited in the grave, with the prince his wives and ministering slaves, so also with his master was placed the dog, his house companion, his friend and watcher, and that the persistence of this custom created the belief that the dog stood in some special relation to the realm of the dead. But possibly also another notion may have had influence in this connection. The dog as the 'biting animal' seems to have been regarded as an emblem of *fire*, and the name *ok'i, te'i*, which the dog bears in the Maya languages, is connected with a homophonous root meaning 'to bite.' Sahagún<sup>2</sup> designates the day *ce itzevintli*, 'one Dog,' precisely as 'signo del fuego,' though for this, as we shall see, there may perhaps still be another reason. But we further find the day *yei itzevintli*, 'three Dog,' mentioned as a feast and doubtless also as a name of the Fire God.<sup>3</sup> And Codex Vaticanus A (No. 3738)<sup>4</sup> puts the day *ce itzevintli*, 'one Dog,' as the end of the *Ecotonatiuh*, of the Wind-Sun, and as the beginning of the *Tloquiniilli*, of the 'Fiery Rain,' i.e. of the pre-historic or pre-cosmic epoch designated by the name of *Quinuktonatiuh* '(Fire)-Rain-Sun.' Lastly, in the Maya domain, both on the monuments and in the manuscripts there occurs with extraordinary frequency an animal's head, which we must doubtless explain as that of the dog, and which is spewing fire from its throat. But if the dog really was a symbol and image of fire, then merely on the ground that it was customary to cremate the dead, the dog might be indicated as *conveyer to Hades*, and then be later regarded as such.

But, however this be, that the dog had this special relation to Hades is beyond question. Hence it can only be regarded as reasonable that here in our manuscript we find as ruler of this sign the *Death God*, the 'Lord of Hades,' *Mictlantecutli*, or, as is distinctly shown on Sheet 90 of our manuscript, *Mictecariuatl*, the 'Lady of the Dwellers in Hades.' In all three places these Death Gods are figured with a skull for their head. This skull is, as usual, furnished with a round eye, and above it a supercilious arch, and with tousled dark hair studded with eyes, that is, black like night, and mostly shows an opening in the region of the temples. For the Mexicans were familiar with the

<sup>1</sup> Sahagún, II. App. chap. i.

<sup>2</sup> Sahagún, II. App. chap. vii: ff. chap. xxv. 22 v.

<sup>3</sup> Codex Telleriano-Remensis, fol. 23 back (= Kingsborough II. 32).

<sup>4</sup> Fol. 6 (= Kingsborough 8).

sight of the skulls of the dead from the *tzompasalli*, the wooden scaffold, where the skulls of the victims were set in rows on stakes driven through their temples. The body of the Death God is either drawn as a skeleton, as on Sheet 32 of our manuscript, or at least with the white colour of bone showing yellow, red-speckled spots. On Sheet 90 of our manuscript the skull is, as stated, borne by a female body which is painted a yellow colour, and is figured with a mauma and a bleeding vulva. As decoration the god wears in Codex Borgia an ear-plug consisting of a human hand, at the nape a feather ornament of an owl's plumage, and at the wrist and ankles bands of black eye-studded hair. The figure on Sheet 32 of our manuscript has a girdle of *malinalli* grass resembling a woman's frock, and an occipital rosette (*cuexcochtchimalli*) painted a white and red colour.

Above the Death God in Codex Borgia (cf. Fig. 350) is figured a sick man, who holds in his hand a bunch of *malinalli* (herbs, drugs?), puts out his tongue, and makes water and is voiding much feces,



Fig. 350. The Sick Man with the Symbols of Cremation and Burial.  
Codex Borgia 13 (= Kingsborough 26).

hence doubtless is intended to be represented as dying. Beside him on the right side the *burning* of the dead is symbolised by a bundle of firewood and a little paper flag, on the left the *burial* by a reptile's open throat receiving a packed and corded body. The patient making water and ejecting feces is also figured in both places of our manuscript here under consideration, and on Sheet 90 is further shown the reptile's throat receiving the packed body. But on Sheet 32 the patient is reproduced in the form of an ape, which is perhaps intended for an expression of the *facies Hippocratica*. For the ape, whose face with its deep-munk socket resembles a skull,

is the image of death. In the sculptures it is often very difficult to say whether we have before us a skull or an ape's head.

The eleventh sign and its ruler stand in Codex Borgia in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 13. In our manuscript this group occupies all the lower half of Sheet 32, while on Sheet 90 it fills the central column.

The eleventh sign bears the name of *ayomátlī*, 'Ape,' and is symbolised by the head or by the whole figure of the ape. As a rule the animal is clearly enough designed, with its sparsely haired, differently coloured, prognathous face, its sunken orbits and somewhat bombed forehead where the hair projects forward. But as a mythological being he is always furnished with an ear ornament, and indeed the *ayomátlī*-shaped ear ornament of the Dance Gods. A peculiarity of Codex Bologna and of Codex Borgia is the displacement of his hairy coat by *malinalli* grass, the ends of which with their little heads of bloom shoot forward above the brow.

The ape is the animal of pastime and diversion, of the dance, of sport and mimetic representation; but as a consequence was likewise held to be in some relation to all that contributed to the joy and adornment of life, to art and artistic skill. Of the two brothers *Han batz* and *Han chousen*, both of which names may be translated 'one Ape,' it is related in the Popol Vuh that they were later changed to apes, and about them the Popol Vuh also says:— *ahzu abbiz, e ahpub aktz'ilen naitpuek aké'at, e akrit, e ahpuwak*, 'they are flute-players, and singers, blowpipe-shooters, besides painters of picture-writings and sculptors, workers in jewellery and the precious metals.' Hence in this respect the sign *ayomátlī* comes in contact with the sign *socht'il*, 'Flower.'

As ruler of this sign a god is figured who is not named by the interpreters, because he is not included in the series of the guardians of the *Tonaltematl* divisions, a series which is otherwise exactly like that of the guardians of the twenty day-counts. The consequence is that from this place forward the members of the two series show a displacement towards each other; the guardians of the *Tonaltematl* divisions correspond to those members of the series of the rulers of the day-counts who in the order stand one unit higher.

I have reproduced the Codex Borgia picture at Fig. 309. Here a god is figured behind the ape and before a chair which is carved of wood, covered with metal (copper, gold), and inlaid with jewelled disks, and is further indicated as a royal throne, a *toicpalli*, by the jaguar-skin thrown over the seat. This god is painted red all over his body, red also on the lower half of his face, but yellow on the upper, and about his mouth shows a peculiar design of a white colour which may be recognised as half of a butterfly (*popoloti*), whose head falls exactly on the tip of the god's nose. Compare the full-face picture of the butterfly in the upper left corner of the figure of Fig. 362b (p. 162), and that about the mouth of the clay figure at Fig. 361 (p. 160). Besides this butterfly face-painting, the god exhibits, on the yellow upper half of his face, a small rectangular field, which is painted a half-red half-white colour, and in this manuscript is elsewhere given on the face of *Tonacotenti* and of the Maize Gods. It doubtless corresponds to the parti-coloured rectangular fields in the upper right corner and the lower left corner of Fig. 362b (below, page 162), which, as I think, are intended to give expression to the diverse-coloured, the bright, the joyous, the *Nejcpalli*.

The god so painted and designed is decked with the usual hollow blue ear-plug (*xichcoy-annocelli*), out of which hangs a jewelled thong. In the pierced nasal septum he wears a rod painted in the colours of the green jewel (*chotchiuitl*). His hair is bound up with a strap decorated with two large jewelled disks, bearing a conventional bird on the frontal side and from which four ends branch off, and above (on the head) is seen the eye enveloped in darkness, the sign of the night sky (or of a star<sup>1</sup>) which we have already met with *Quetzaltematl*, and with *Tlabe*. At his nape he has a feather adornment, of which, however, judging from the drawings in the picture-writings, one cannot say whether it was intended to be worn horizontally, after the fashion of *Quetzaltematl's* *cucahsitonenti*, or vertically like the so-called crest-shaped *patzoelli* feather ornament;<sup>2</sup> its head and end part consists of pure white feathers blended with a few single longish red plumes. On his breast he wears a large golden disk (*nepeutla mantituk tocohtlacomalli*) fastened with strings of greenstone beads (*chotchiuh-*



Fig. 309. The Eleventh Day-count oyoimilli, 'Ape,' and its Ruler, Xochipalli, God of Flowers and of Food Supplies. Codex Borgia 13, (= Kingsborough 99).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my Abhandlung 'Ueber Altmexikanisches Fabelwesen und mittelaltliche Hangabzeichen.' Verhandl. Berliner Anthropol. Gesellsch. 17 Jan. 1891. [Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, xxxi, p. (126).]

*cozoypelttl*). Around his hips he has wrapped a cloth which is likewise set with jewelled disks. To the back bow of this cloth is attached the head of a *cozcotli* bird as 'mirror-tail' (*tezcuicuilopilli*) or back-mirror. The ends of the loin-cloth are also partly painted in the colours of the green jewel (*chalehuistl*). Lastly, before his mouth is shown a flower, out of which project two jewelled thongs.

In our manuscript the ruler of the eleventh day-count is not figured quite so characteristically, but still agrees with the Codex Borgia figure in many essential points. The most striking difference is that in our manuscript the god is painted blue, on Sheet 32 blue even on the face, whereas on Sheet 90 the face is pictured of a yellow colour, and the posterior corner of the eye enclosed by two red lines, a facial painting, which is otherwise the special distinction of the Sun God (cf. Fig. 290 *supra*, p. 97). And neither on Sheet 30 nor on Sheet 90 of our manuscript does the mouth of this god exhibit the white butterfly figure, which nevertheless appears to be one of the most essential



Fig. 361. *Xochipilli*, God of Flowers and of Food Supplies. Painted Clay Effigy from *Textilón del camino* (State of Oaxaca). Seler Collection, Royal Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

peculiarities of this ruler of the eleventh day-count. The identity with the Codex Borgia figure is established amongst other distinctive marks, especially as would appear by the crest-shape nape adornment consisting of pure white feathers and the jewelled chain before his mouth. Another peculiarity likewise frequently observed with other pictures of this god in our manuscript is the wrist ornament with the figure on Sheet 90 consisting of four stone beads set on the leather strap so as to form a cross.

An identification of this figure I first attempted in the report of the eighth session of the International Congress of Americanists held in Berlin in the year 1888 in my first elucidation of the *Tomahematt* of the Aubin collection, which I there published. Conclusive for me was at that time, and indeed still is, a parti-coloured painted clay figure which I had shortly before acquired at *Textilón del Camino*, just within the State of Oaxaca, and had brought with me to Europe. I have published this figure in colours in my work on *Mitla*,<sup>1</sup> and here give (Fig. 361) an autotype reproduction of a photograph taken of the effigy. As we see, or at least may clearly see in the coloured original, the

<sup>1</sup> Die Wandmalereien der Paläste von Mitla. Berlin (A. Asher & Co.) 1895. Plate xiii.

face of this clay figure might, so to say, have been copied from the face of the Codex Borgia figure. Here are the same yellow upper half of the face with its rectangular field painted alternately red and white, and the same red lower half of the face, with the same white butterfly figure about the mouth and the white tip of the nose formed by the butterfly's head. Only the rod inserted in the pierced nasal septum, which in Codex Borgia is painted and designed in the colours of the hieroglyph (*chalcikintli*), is here simply painted blue, therefore as a jewelled rod.

Now, this identity between the facial painting of the clay figure from Teotitlan del Camino and that of our Codex Borgia picture is of great importance. On the one hand I am convinced that this figure alone supplies strong proof that we have to look for the source of the picture-writings of the Codex Borgia group in this district. But on the other the clay figure of Teotitlan del Camino has a few marks which carry us beyond what we find in the Codex Borgia picture. For the face of this clay figure—whose body, however, is painted a red colour like that of the Codex Borgia picture—looks out from a bird's open beak, which thus in a sense forms the helmet mask or the disguise (*mualliti*) of this god, the bird itself being distinguished by a generally blue plumage and a high erect feather-crest on its head, hence can be identified as *cozcotli* or *quetzalcozcotli*. For the name *cozcotli* was also borne by a king of *Cokhuacan*, who in the picture-writings of an historical character (Codex Boturini) is hieroglyphically denoted by the head of such a bird with feather-crest standing high up. But a god whose face looks out from the beak of a bird with such a tall and erect feather-crest is likewise seen figured in the pictorial document of the Florentine Biblioteca Nazionale, on the one hand as god of the eighth yearly feast *nei tecuilhuil* (Fig. 363), and he there receives the name of *Tloqyilli*, 'preciado señor'; on the other hand as god of the *xochihuil*, of the Flower feast (Fig. 364) which was kept by the Mexicans on the days *chicome xochitl*, 'seven Flower,' and *ce xochitl*, 'one Flower'; and in that document the name of the day *Chicome xochitl* is mentioned as his name. But from Sahagun we knew the names of the deities who were honoured at the Flower feast. They are *Mucuilxochitl* and *Xochipilli*; and Sahagun says of them:—*era neneuhque, ynic uetotitoyu teapatzinca yntouh*, 'they were worshipped in the same way, and are the gods of the people who live in the houses of the princes.' The name *Xochipilli* seems specially appropriate to the deity pictured at Figs. 363 and 364, as well as to the god with the butterfly design about his mouth, who is mentioned in Codex Borgia as ruler of the eleventh day-count, and is reproduced at Fig. 359. For in the same pictorial document of the Florentine Biblioteca Nazionale, under the name *Mucuilxochitl*, a somewhat differently garbed god (Fig. 365) is figured as patron of the *patalli* game. And we shall see farther on that the god to whom is given the special name of *Mucuilxochitl* is really pictured in Codex Borgia with a different facial painting, with a white hand about his mouth. In fact, of the pictures of *Xochipilli* and *Mucuil xochitl* (Figs. 366, 367) given by the Sahagun manuscript of the Biblioteca del Palacio, one only, that of *Mucuilxochitl* (Fig. 367) is furnished with the design of the white hand about his mouth, a design which in the text is described with the word *motemec pulkuiticue*. But the kinship of the two gods is illustrated by a slight detail of their attire given both in the pictorial manuscript of the Florentine Biblioteca Nazionale and in the Sahagun manuscript. In these two documents both gods wear the *yallotepilli*, the staff with the heart.

In the Sahagun manuscript these two gods are designated as *teapatzinca yntouh*, 'the deities of the people of the king's house'—'era nua particular dios de los que moraban en las casas de los Señores, ó en los palacios de los principales.'<sup>1</sup> That is to say, they are the gods of the persons who served for the amusement or pastime of the great—hence first and foremost the players, dancers, and singers. As we have seen (Fig. 365), *Mucuilxochitl* is in fact represented in the Florentine pictorial document as presiding over the *patalli* game. And stone effigies of him are said to have been set up in the ball-courts. In the Museo Nacional de México there is an interesting stone statue of *Xochipilli*

<sup>1</sup> Sahagun, l. chap. xiv.

(Fig. 369), which presents this god with a mask before his face—that is, no doubt, as a dancer, a player. And stone images of *Mocuitzohitl*, such as may have been erected in the ball-courts, in the attitude of a spectator, crouching, with arms crossed and resting on the knees, are found in considerable numbers from the uplands down to the coast (cf. Figs. 369-371, pp. 164 and 166). With their aid one

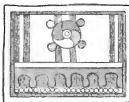


Fig. 362a. manta de un solo señor á de cinco señas.  
Pictorial Manuscript in the Florentine  
Biblioteca Nazionale, fol. 5 back.

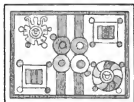


Fig. 362b. manta de cinco señas.  
Pictorial Manuscript in the Florentine Biblioteca  
Nazionale, fol. 5 back.



Fig. 363. *Xochipilli's* Effigy on the Eighth Yearly Feast *Tetl tecuilhuitl*. Pictorial Manuscript in the Florentine  
Biblioteca Nazionale, fol. 53.

may study every stage of transition from the distinct *cuauvalli* helmet-mask to a completely misunderstood or incomprehensible crest or pyramidal surmounting the head.

But this god was honoured not only by players, singers, and dancers, but also, as Sahagun relates with the Flower feast,<sup>1</sup> by painters and artisans of all classes. And industrial arts, as the realm of this god, are indicated by the patterns on the mantles, which are described in the pictorial manuscript of the Florentine Biblioteca Nazionale as 'manta de un solo señor<sup>2</sup> á de cinco señas' and as 'manta de cinco señas' (Fig. 362a, b): For the elements which are there met are the flower, *zochitl* (the lower

<sup>1</sup> Sahagun, II, chap. XII.

<sup>2</sup> 'an solo señor' is probably a wrong translation of *Cuauatl*, a name which really means 'Mantle God'.

border in Fig. 362a); the butterfly, *papalotl* (Fig. 362b, upper left corner); the many-coloured, *tlapajalli* (Fig. 362b, lower left and upper right corner); the *tonallo*, or solar emblem (the four balls or beads in the centre of Fig. 362b), which we find likewise given on the shield and the flag of *Mucuilochiltl* in the Sahagun manuscript (Fig. 367); lastly, the sign *itxuitl* (middle of the upper half of Fig. 362a, and lower right corner of Fig. 362b).



Fig. 364. *Xochipilli*, God of the *xochitl*, of the Flower Feast, the Feast or *xochitl*, 'one Flower,' and *chicom xochitl*, 'seven Flower.' Pictorial Manuscript of the Florentine Biblioteca Nazionale, fol. 20.

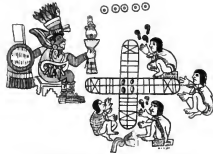


Fig. 365. *Mucuilochiltl*, God of the *patolli* Game. Pictorial Manuscript of the Florentine Biblioteca Nazionale, fol. 49.



Fig. 366. *Xochipilli*, God of Flowers and of Food Supplies. Sahagun MS. Bibl. del Palacio.



Fig. 367. *Mucuilochiltl*, God of Sports. Sahagun MS. Bibl. del Palacio.



Fig. 368. *Xochipilli*, Stone Effigy in the Museo Nacional de México.

But in all these relations the god here figured is without doubt the true embodiment of what the Mexicans understood by the sign *oquauitli*, as I have above pointed out. And in this way this god *Xochipilli* is likewise the counterpart to the goddess *Xochiquetzal*, whom we shall meet below as representative of the sign *xochitl*, 'Flower,' just as the sign *oquauitli* itself is the counterpart of the sign *xochitl*.

Now this god *Xochipilli*, ruler of the eleventh day-count, is here in Codex Borgia, as likewise on Sheet 32 of our manuscript, accompanied by a remarkable representation, which apparently seems

totally foreign to his nature and to the character of the sign. For, both in Codex Borgia (cf. Fig. 360) and on Sheet 32 of our manuscript, we find a fisher represented in a somewhat similar way in association with this god, and catching fish with a hand-net. In Codex Borgia a jewelled chain, or chain of beads ending in a flower, is given before the mouth of the fisher, as it is before the mouth of the chief figure. This group was long a puzzle to me. I thought of *matlanā*, 'Lord of the Net,' who might be called the 'Fisher,' a word which we found mentioned by the interpreter of Codex Tolleriano-Remensis as one of the names of the Lord of Life. I also thought that perhaps this picture



Fig. 369. Stone Effigy of Macuilxochitl. Bilimek Collection. Imp. R. Natural History Court Museum, Vienna.



Fig. 370. Two Stone Effigies of Macuilxochitl.  
a. Bilimek Collection. Imp. R. Natural History Court Museum, Vienna.  
b. Becker Collection, found at Tepozotlán, State of Puebla. Imp. R. Natural History Court Museum, Vienna.

might symbolise for us the coast as the land where this god had his real home. But it will be easily understood that neither explanation quite satisfied me. Now I believe I have found the solution of the riddle in a passage of the Songs to the Gods which Sahagún has handed down to us. Of these songs one is dedicated to *Macuilxochitl*, and one also to *Xochipilli*. But in the latter the god is never mentioned in the text of the song by the name of *Xochipilli*, but always designated as *Cinteotl*, the 'Maize God':—

*Tlaxtli icpaxayt, vel in cuicayt, quetzalcoaxotli*  
'on the ball-court sings the *quetzalcoaxotli*



*quinanquilin cintulla coy*  
 'him answereth the Maize God.'<sup>1</sup>  
*ye enéuya towinayt owaya ym*  
 'now singeth our friend  
*ye cuicuya ye quetzalcocxtili*  
 'sings the Quetzalcoxcotli  
*ycahticallao cintulla coy*  
 'Lord of the Twilight, the Maize God.'

The Maize God, the Lord of Food Supplies, the Lord of Affluence, such is assuredly the deeper meaning underlying this figure. In another song which was sung on the feast of *Atrawilquoliztli*, the 'Water-fritter-eating' feast, a feast held every eighth year, ostensibly for the renewal of food supplies, allusion is also made to this same Maize God. Here, too, he is identified with *Ce xochilli*, 'one Flower,' that is, with the Lord of the Flower feast, our *Xochipilli*, and is stated to have been born of *Tlapalatl* in the Paradise of the West, in *Tamoanchan*—

*otlatzqui centeull*  
 'born is the Maize God'  
*tamiyoan ichanni xochill icetanni*  
 'in the House of Descent (or of Birth), in the place where the flowers are.'  
*ce yxochilli . . .*  
 '(the God) one Flower' . . .  
*Otlatzqui centeull*  
 the Maize God is born  
*atl yayovicani tlacpiltackivotom*  
 in the place of the water, and of mist, where  
 the children of men are made,  
*chatchim[m]ichococan*  
 in the Jewel-Michococan (the mythical region of the West).

Now, it is this 'Jewel-Michococan' which, like the earthly *Michococan*, lay in the West, but was a mythical land, that, as I believe, is symbolised by this picture of the Fisher with the hand-net, which we see beside *Xochipilli* in Codex Borgia and on Sheet 32 of our manuscript. For *Michococan* means nothing but 'the Place of the Fisher,' while *Chatchimichococan*, as the homologue of *Tamoanchan* and of *Xochill icetani*, can assuredly mean nothing but the mythical West, the region of the Earth Goddess, the home of maize.

Divergent is the picture which is given in the central column of Sheet 90 of our manuscript above *Xochipilli*, ruler of the eleventh day-count. It is simply a water-vessel into which sinks a fiery axe. I would venture to suggest that this picture is the hieroglyphic expansion for *atl ayauicani*, the 'Land of Water and Mist' (i.e. the Land of the Rain God), which we found in the above-quoted passage from the Cantares employed as another synonym for *Tamoanchan* and *Xochill icetani*, that is, for the mythical West.

The twelfth day-count and its ruler stand in Codex Borgia in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 13, in Codex Vaticanus in the right division of the lower half of Sheet 31, and in the column on the left side of Sheet 90.

The twelfth day-count bears the name of *malinalli*, that is, literally, 'the Twisted.' And exactly the same meaning is reproduced by the Zapotec name of the sign—*píjn* or *chíjn*—whereas the Maya names

<sup>1</sup> Ten strophe, which in the manuscript is introduced as the last strophe of the song to the *Mictecacau* preceding the song to *Xochipilli*, belongs without doubt to the song to *Xochipilli* as its first strophe.

*de esob, ex* are presumably to be translated 'set of teeth.' The interpreters explain *molinolli* as 'a species of herb.' In the 106th chapter of book XII. of his *Historia Plantarum Novae Hispaniae*, Francisco Hernandez introduces a *molinolli* with the remark:—'Herba est vulgaris ex qua Indi parant retia . . . Nascentur ubique.' According to Peñafiel<sup>1</sup> it is a grass which is now known by the name of 'zaote del carbonero.' The charcoal-burners use it for making the sacks in which they bring the charcoal down from the mountains and also for the cords with which they tie up the sacks. *Molinolli* is translated 'esobilla,' that is, 'bosom,' both by the interpreter of Codex Borbonicus, and in the list which I have above printed (pp. 127, 128) from the manuscript chronicle of the former Franciscan Convent at Guatemala. This, too, may be a correct translation. For a hard dry grass is even still used for making the 'esobilla,' the broom or pencil-like article universally employed by the Indian women for brushing their hair and clothes. The pictures of this sign show us everywhere a green bunch, the several stalks of which are as a rule crowned with little yellow heads of bloom, or else out of them project two panicles pointed a yellow colour (cf. Fig. 377, p. 169). Where, however, this herb stands as image of the twelfth day-count, it is seldom depicted alone. Combined with it is usually seen a dead man's skull, or its lower jaw: and it is disposed either in such a way that the green bunch forms the cover or the posterior vault of a skull, or else the green bunch projects from above the row of teeth of a lower jaw drawn in full face or in profile. In the latter case beside it is not rarely seen a protruding eye, which may even stand alone with the cranial lower jaw for the sign *ualliu-olli*. For *molinolli*, the 'Twisted,' may also be translated 'the gauged-out.'



Fig. 371. Stone Effigy of *Mecolizk'ol*. Uale Collection, Royal Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

This sign has an evil reputation. Sahagun and Duran explain it—I do not, however, know whether altogether uninfluenced by Biblical tradition—as a symbol of evanescence—sicut foenum—the grass of the field that soon withers away. In this connection Duran dwells upon the evanescence of evil. As the grass of the field perishes annually, and again springs up fresh every year, so those born under this sign similarly fell into a heavy sickness, but soon recovered. Sahagun, on the contrary, lays stress on the fleeting nature of happiness. Those born under this sign were at first favoured by fortune, but were always at last plunged back into misery. They would have many children, who, however, would die one after the other. Therefore, he adds, this sign was compared to a rapacious beast.

As ruler of this sign the picture-writings figure the *Pulque God*, and in fact here, too, evanescence seems to yield the third term of the comparison. Above (pp. 127, 128) I gave a list of the names of the day-counts from a report which was drawn up in the year 1579 in the district of *Mexitlan* on the border of the Huastec territory. In the same report some particulars are likewise given about the gods who were there worshipped in the olden times. The informant first of all mentions six pictures (whose names, however, are partly mutilated in the impression of the manuscript in the *Documentos inditos*), which evidently represent the gods of the six quarters of the world. Two of them are designated as female deities: *Xek'itlak'pau* and *Tepet'och*; while the four others were males: *Izewin*, *Hueytopah*, *Teztletemic*, *Xatuncall*

many children, who, however, would die one after the other. Therefore, he adds, this sign was compared to a rapacious beast.

<sup>1</sup> Nombres geográficos de México.

*tatzin*. Then the writer continues:—They relate another fable, that they had two other effigies as gods, one called *Ometochtli*, who is the *God of Wine*; the other *Tezotlipaca*, which is the name of the most exalted idol worshipped by them. And with these they had painted the figure of a woman named *Hoy-tonatzin*, that is, "our great Mother," because they said she was the mother of all these gods or demons. And those four above-mentioned [male] demons, they related, had killed this great Mother, founding with her the institution of human sacrifice, and taking her heart out of her breast and presenting it to the Sun. Similarly they related that the idol *Tezotlipaca* had killed the God of Wine with his consent and concurrence, giving out that in this way he gave him eternal life, and that if he did not die all persons drinking

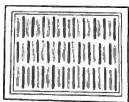


Fig. 372. 'manta de dos corojos' [ometchtli].  
Pictorial Manuscript, Florentine Biblioteca  
Nazionale, fol. 2.



Fig. 373. 'manta de corajo' [ometchtli].  
Pictorial Manuscript, Florentine Biblioteca  
Nazionale, fol. 4 back.



Fig. 374. ometchtli.  
'Ruler of the Pulque God.'  
Sahagun ms. Academia de la Historia.



Fig. 375.  
a. Pulque Vessel (*petzomatl*) and Pulque Bowl (*colodli*). Codex Mendoza 62.  
b. Mubo Jug. Dresden Maya Manuscript.  
c. Hieroglyph of the Maya Day-counts *cil*.

wine must die; but that the death of this *Ometochtli* was only like the sleep of one drunk, that he afterwards recovered and again became fresh and well.

I have already above referred to the Pulque Gods, stating that they were called *Centzom tochtin*, the 'Four Hundred Rabbits'. As may be inferred from a statement of the interpreter of the Florentine Biblioteca Nazionale, these gods were essentially *Harvest Gods*.<sup>1</sup> For when the crops are gathered, then there is again plenty of food supplies, then is the time again to brew pulque or other intoxicating drinks, and celebrate the new harvest blessing with wild carousing. But since the Pulque Gods are Harvest Gods, they are therefore in truth the proper expression of the dying out and everlasting renewal of life, the emblem, as I have just stated, of what the Mexicans really understood by the sign *molinalli*.

<sup>1</sup> 'y quando los indios tenían regalo y comían sus maíces se emborrachaban y bailaban invocando a este demonio y a otros cuatro dioses' (Pictorial Manuscript of the Florentine Biblioteca Nazionale, fol. 26 back).

The Mexican tribes were mainly husbandmen. Hence the Harvest God, the Pulque God, must have everywhere been worshipped after this fashion. But a whole series of these deities were distinguished and were generally named from the locality where they were held in honour. In the pictorial manuscript of the Biblioteca Nazionale the names are given of no less than twelve Pulque Gods, ten of them males—*Tepestecatl*, *Papazhuac*, *Yauhtecatl*, *Toltecatl*, *Pâtecatl*, *Tezcatzouacatl*, *Tlaltecayouan*, *Colhuatzincatl*, *Tobdotecatl*, *Tilhuoa*—and two females—*Magnuel* and *Atlaouays*. And in the Sahagun manuscript we, moreover, meet with the names *Acolhua*, *Izquitecatl*, *Chimalpanecatl*, besides *Ome tochtli*, 'two Rabbit,' which appears to have been the name generally applied to the Pulque Gods, and which we have already above come upon in the report on the district of *Mextitlan*. The *Nauatlpilli*, too, one of the four deities honoured by the

stone-cutters of *Xochimilco*, is without doubt to be regarded as a Pulque God. The name which is given by the interpreters for the Pulque God, ruler of the eleventh *Toulanauatl* division, who is like the ruler of the twelfth day-count, is *Pâtecatl*, and this is a person of whom it is stated in the Sahagun manuscript<sup>1</sup> that he—in *quittac tlacatl tlauhtecatl inic mochiva oelli*—'found the stalks and the roots of which pulque is made,' that is, what was added to the pulque to enhance its intoxicating narcotic strength. Thus the interpreter of Codex Telleriano-Remensis more accurately<sup>2</sup>—'esto pitecatle es señor dotado treze dias y de unas rrayzes quellas ochavan en el vino, porque sin estas rrayzes no se podian emborrachar aunque mas bebiesen.' These roots, as we are told both by Motolinia<sup>3</sup> and by the interpreter of the pictorial manuscript in the Florentino Biblioteca Nazionale,<sup>4</sup> was called *oc-pilli*, 'pulque physic.' And this explains the name *Pâtecatl*, which must accordingly be translated 'he from the land of the [pulque] medicine (the pulque drug).'



Fig. 376. The Pulque God. Sahagun ms. Biblioteca del Palacio (Madrid).

Of the Pulque Gods the most striking personal distinctions are first a two-coloured face-painting (*micchictlapanaticue*)<sup>5</sup> the anterior half of the facial profile, that is, the middle part of the face, being painted a red colour along its whole length, the posterior part, that is, the sides of both temples, black (or dark green), or black with yellow spots; and secondly, a crescent-shaped nasal plate (*yacamatzli*) often involuted at the ends, an ornament which the Pulque Gods have in common with the old Earth Goddess *Tlopatotecatl*. With this is often combined the cone-shaped cap (*capilli*) and the god *Quetzalcoatl's* uape ornament (*uapalustouacatl*), consisting of black and a few red feathers. Lastly, the square ear-plate of the Rain God *Tlaloc* and the neck adornment called *chugavac cocoztl*, hanging far down, of loose texture, and made of *moliuacalli* grass.

The first two distinctive marks are so constant and general that a juxtaposition of red and black on a shoulder-wrap (Fig. 372) in the pictorial manuscript of the Florentino Biblioteca Nazionale is forthwith explained to be the 'nunta de los conejos,' i.e. the *ometochitlmatzli*, the Pulque God's shoulder-wrap. Similarly the nasal crescent *yacamatzli*, on a red field flanked by two black longitudinal bands (occurring in the Sahagun manuscript), gives the pattern of the *ometochikimalli*, 'the Pulque God's shield' (cf. Fig. 376), just as the *ometochkluuiztli* shown on a jar furnished with two large wing-like attachments give the 'device of the Pulque God' (Fig. 374). Lastly, the nasal crescent *yacamatzli* on the shoulder-wraps (Fig. 373), on vases and bowls (Fig. 375a) alone suffices to indicate their relation to the Pulque God, to show that such vessels and bowls are pulque vessels and pulque

<sup>1</sup> Sahagun, x. chap. xxx. § 12.

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 15 back (= Kingsborough II. 161).

<sup>3</sup> Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España. Tratado III. chap. xix.

<sup>4</sup> Fol. 73.

<sup>5</sup> Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde, I. part iv. p. 129.

bowls. So formal, so conventional has this element become, that in the Maya manuscripts nothing at last survives of the *yucumetzli* save the involution of one end. But in those manuscripts this mark appears with equal persistence on such jars as are intended to be indicated as mulese jars (Fig. 375b), and seems likewise to have entered as an element into the hieroglyph of the Maya day-count *ciñ*, which corresponds to the Mexican *coconahuahli*, and whose name is manifestly connected with the word *ci*, mule.

These two chief marks, the two-coloured facial painting (*michietlapunticse*) and the golden nasal crescent (*yucumetzli*), are likewise everywhere given with the *Piltécatl*, who is the ruler of the twelfth day-count. Similarly we everywhere see drawn the god *Quetzalcóatl's* nape feather adornment *cueyahuatonatl*, consisting of black feathers with a few red plumes standing out from them, and also (with the god of Sheet 90, Fig. 377c) the half-blue half-red cone-shaped cap, *copilli*, of the same god

*Quetzalcóatl*. But therewith in all three places is combined a very peculiar kind of fillet—a band which affects the form of the Mexican royal crown (*xihuitzalli*) and on Sheet 31 of our manuscript (Fig. 377b) is moreover painted in the colours of this crown, blue (turquoise mosaic) with red leather edging, in Codex Borgia (Fig. 377a) obviously consists of white fur with an ape's head set on the frontal side. Evidently this is intended to denote some barbaric ornament peculiar to the district where the Pulque Gods, or this particular Pulque God, was supposed to have his home. Of the other articles of his attire there remains only to be mentioned the breast adornment, which on Sheet 90 of our manuscript consists of a black leaf-shaped obsidian knife, but on Sheet 31 (Fig. 377a) of a cross-banded ornament curved like a cornucopia, and apparently also made of stone, such as we shall find reproduced in quite a like way with the old Earth Goddess *Tlapohtéotl*, evidently a territorial neighbour of the Pulque Gods.

Above this ruler of the twelfth day-count we see a kind of grass matting which is stuck with little paper flags, and at Fig. 377a is raised on one side somewhat like a hill bearing on top a couple of blood-stained agavo-leaf spikes. Hence this matting answers perhaps to the *caotapreyelli*, the grass ball which was platted round with a band of closer texture, and into which, after the mortification, were stuck the agavo-leaf spikes on which was collected the blood drawn from the pierced ear or the pierced tongue. Before or on this grass matting stands an animal of coyote-like appearance, whose special distinction seems to be a dark field enclosing the eyes and stretching over the whole breadth of the head, and in Codex Borgia painted with white circles on a dark ground. The animal has strips of paper tied round him and carries paper flags, so that he is evidently decked for the sacrifice. Facing him are seen in Codex Borgia (Fig. 377a) the implements of war, which are likewise given, reduced to the smallest size, with the god of Sheet 90 in our manuscript. Manifestly this whole representation, like that which we shall meet with the Pulque God, ruler of the eleventh *Tonaltematl* division, is



Fig. 377a. *Piltécatl*, the Pulque God, Ruler of the Twelfth Day-count *molimilli*, 'Twisted.' Codex Borgia 13 (= Kingsborough 20).

intended to contain an indication that pulque is the drink of strong persons, of the warriors, that is, of those who are destined one day to be immolated in the Sacrificio gladiatorio. The coyote-like animal, which in both places of our manuscript has a string coiled round its arm, may be meant to represent the *cuetlachewé*, the old kinkajou, who is the 'uncle' of those destined for the Sacrificio gladiatorio and who lashes them to the round stone where they have to fight.



Fig. 377b. Pâteontl, the Pulque God.  
Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773), Sheet 31  
(= Kingsborough 79).



Fig. 377c. Pâteontl, the Pulque God.  
Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773), Sheet 90  
(= Kingsborough 7).

The thirteenth day-count and its ruler stand in Codex Borgia in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 12, in our manuscript in the left division of the lower half of Sheet 31, and in the right half of Sheet 91.



Fig. 378. Tezontipoca-tzayinistli, the Bloodfield God, the God of Punishment, Ruler of the Thirteenth Day-count, a reed.  
Codex Borgia 12 (= Kingsborough 25).

The thirteenth day-count bears the name of *acatl*, 'Reed,' and is universally symbolised by an arrow-shaft or a bundle of arrows. For of the reed is made the shaft of the arrow. For the Mexicans the arrow denoted the *Judicial power*. In the 56th chapter of his *Crónica mexicana*, *Tetzomoc* tells us how the newly elected king is arrayed in his royal robe and seated on his throne. This was made of a jaguar-skin, and stood on the ground spread with a jaguar-skin which was furnished with stuffed head, teeth, and claws, and artificial eyes made of glittering stone. And on the right side of this throne stood a quiver with gilded arrows and a bow—'que significa la justicia que ha de guardar.'

That the thirteenth day-count and its ruler are also concerned with crime and punishment, hence with magisterial authority, is at once clearly expressed in

the secondary representations. For in all three places here under consideration, above or beside the ruler of the sign is figured a man eating his ordure, a *tlalquani*, that is, as I have already once above stated, a *culpfit*. On Sheet 91, however, we have, strictly speaking, not a man eating his ordure,

but a man producing ordure. So also, in the previous place, with this third sign, in this second series of the Vatican, was to be seen a figure not exactly eating filth, but only one producing it, and in his hand holding the sign *cutlatl*, 'Filth, Ordure.' In the previous place, with the third sign, the filth-eater, *tlaciquani*, was in a sense merely the hieroglyph for a goddess, the old Earth Goddess *Tlacotalt*, who was there intended to be represented facing the jaguar, that is, *Tepeyollotli*. But here with the thirteenth sign the filth-eater is intended to represent a real criminal. This is shown by the comparison with the figures of the stoned adulterers which in the Mexican manuscripts proper are seen pictured with the chief figure in the twelfth *Tonalamatl* division corresponding to the eleventh day-count. We may infer the same from the fact that here beside the *tlaciquani* expression is given to the concept of retributive justice. This is effected in Codex Borgia (Fig. 378) by a royal throne on which lies a flaming axe; on Sheet 31 of Codex Vaticanus by the figure of an arrow.

The ruler proper of this sign is a person with *bandaged eyes*, who in Codex Borgia (Fig. 378) is simply painted and designed as *Tezcaltipoca* (cf. Fig. 382a, h *infra*, p. 176), but in both places in our manuscript has another, and, strictly speaking, a less characteristic appearance. Still even here, at least on Sheet 91, *Tezcaltipoca* may be recognised by his cross-striped face, hair stuck with downy feather balls, and tuft of forked heron-feathers on his head. The influence of an elementary thought may be discerned in the fact that the regent of the sign *acatl* is here depicted blindfolded. We know that our sculptors, too, are wont to represent the Goddess of Justice with bandaged eyes. It is less easy to understand the significance of the quetzal bird, which both in Codex Borgia and on Sheet 31 of our manuscript is seen stooping down over the head of the blindfold god. On Sheet 91 of our manuscript this bird is replaced by a tuft hanging far down over the face, and painted black in the colour of the hair, and, like the hair itself, set with little downy feather balls. It seems as if by this tuft was meant a kind of veil of hairs hanging far down over the face, hence was another expression of the blindfolding process. And it is not impossible that the quetzal bird stooping down over the face may be merely an emblem of the same veil.

For the Mexicans *Tezcaltipoca* passed as the invisible being, who is only as night and wind, who, when he spoke to mortals, spoke only as a shadow, and knew the inmost (thoughts) of men (*vel teitit tlamati, mati*).<sup>1</sup> Hence for the Mexicans he was the God of Avenging Justice. His effigy in Tezcoaco, as Duran<sup>2</sup> tells us, held in its hand four arrows—'que le significavan el castigo que por los pecados dava a los malos, y asi el ydolo que más temian no les descubriese sus pecados, era este.' And when during the ten days before his feast the effigy of this god let the sound of his flute be heard, 'such a great fear and compunction fell upon the thieves, the adulterers, the murderers, and all other classes of evil-doers, and some gashed themselves (at their penitential exercises and blood-letting) in such a way that they could not hide that they had in some way trespassed, and on all the days (till the feast) they prayed for nothing else save only that their sins might not be revealed, with the shedding of many tears, and in great contrition and repentance, offering great quantities of incense to appease the god.' The great feast of this god, held every fourth year, effected, as Duran relates, a remission of punishment (a plenary indulgence), and that was just what those sinners implored with their penances, that their offences might not so far be brought to light.

The name *Moyocoztlin*, the 'autocratic ruler,' and the various statements that according to his whim and fancy he lowered the mighty and raised the lowly, even the slaves, to power, rank, and wealth, are perhaps merely an expression of the unlimited authority enjoyed by him as supreme judge.

The fourteenth sign and its rulers stand in Codex Borgia in the first division of the upper half of Sheet 12, in our manuscript in the right division of the lower half of Sheet 30, and in the left half of Sheet 31.

<sup>1</sup> Sahagun, II. chap. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Historia de las Indias de Nueva España. Traduc. F., chap. 6.

The name of the fourteenth day-count is *oedotli*, 'Jaguar,' and it is accordingly symbolised as a rule by the somewhat realistically designed head, or by the whole figure of this animal, occasionally also merely by the round spotted ear of the jaguar furnished with a black point.

With the jaguar, as I had above occasion to point out with *Tepeyollotli*, the old sages thought of the animal which, in the imagination of the Mexicans, devours the Sun, and threatens to swallow it whenever the solar disk suffers eclipse in the daytime (cf. Fig. 379):—

*anā ŷa no ŷenac yn cuacoc tonatink*  
and the same year the sun was darkened  
*mochi neque yn ciciltaltin . . .*  
all stars were visible in the sky, . . .  
*auk ŷa no ŷenac yn neque yn tecuanime, tiztzimime*  
and at the same time appeared the jaguars, the demons of darkness,  
*kuatemoque yn cuauhtla*  
down came the flock of eagles.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore the jaguar was for the Mexicans a symbol of *darkness*, and furthermore of the dark interior of the earth, and of the earth itself. In his form appears *Tepeyollotli*, who is a god of the caves.

And in this connection the interpreter of Telleriano-Remensis remarks that 'this name jaguar is applied to the earth.' That particular pre-historic or pre-cosmic epoch of the world, which was designated by the name of *oedotomatink*, 'Jaguar Sun,' undoubtedly represents in contradistinction to the three others—the *atonatink*, *quiauktomatink*, *coatonatink*, that is, the Water Sun, the Fiery rain Sun, and the Wind Sun—the fourth of the classical elements, the region of Earth.

Hence as ruler of this fourteenth day-count appears the very goddess who was designated as *Tlalli iyollo*, 'Heart of the Earth,' 'Interior of the Earth,' the old Huastec Earth Goddess who is otherwise known

by the name of *Tlapalcotl*, 'Goddess of Dirt,' but also by the name of *Toci*, 'our Grandmother,' and *Teteo imman*, 'Mother of the Gods,' and is without doubt also identical with the goddess of the district of Mexitlan, the *Uci tomanzin*, 'our great Mother' above mentioned in connection with the deity of the twelfth sign. We have already above (cf. pp. 100-102) met with this goddess as seventh of the nine Lords of the Night Hours, and there, too, I have given full details on her dress and her array. Here also she is represented in the typical style as ruler of the fourteenth day-count, with the yellow, or else white, yellow-striped, colour of her body and face, the black rubber painting about the mouth, the golden nasal crescent of the Pulque Gods (*yuansmetzli*), the fillet of unspun cotton (*ichauachkiltl*), in which the spindles are stuck, the ear-plug of like material, and the yellow feathers in her nape feather ornament, which in Sahagun's description of the costumes is called *ŷoyotemalli*, 'bunch of palm-leaf strips.' As a peculiarity there need only be mentioned that on Sheet 31 of our manuscript the goddess shows on her cheek the small rectangularly edged and parti-coloured field which is otherwise the badge of *Xochipilli*, *Tonacatecutli*, and the Maize Gods. With the Codex Borgia figure on the cheek are drawn only two short cross rubber strokes. According to the chapter on the dress of the gods in the Sahagun manuscript, she should strictly speaking have on her cheek a *tlapocchli*, a round patch of liquid rubber. It is further noteworthy that with the figure of Sheet 91 of our manuscript the nape feather ornament resembles the god *Quetzalcoatl's* *cuecuiltomocuitl*, while it seems to consist of *goril*-feathers with the Codex Borgia goddess, as well as with the finely drawn large figure of Codex Borboticus (cf. Fig. 51 *supra*, p. 24). Lastly, the Codex Borgia goddess, again like the above-mentioned



Fig. 379. *tozotatink puala*,  
Solar Eclipse.  
Codex Telleriano-Remensis,  
fol. 40 back  
(= Kingsborough IV. 22).

<sup>1</sup> Chimalpahin, ed. Rinal Simón, 139.



Codex Borbonicus figure, is arrayed in an *omeloheneitl*, an *esagua* painted in the colours of the Pulque Gods (red and black) and decorated with the golden nasal crescent of the Pulque Gods; and on her breast she wears the same remarkable white and blue striped ornament, which is curved like a comma, and was above used with the Pulque Gods of Codex Borgia. Herein we have an expression of the (real or assumed) common territorial origin of those two deities, the goddess *Tloquetl* and the Pulque God, as well as an undoubted essential kinship between the deities themselves. For *Tloquetl*, like the Pulque Gods, is likewise a Harvest Goddess. Her great feast, the *ochpaniztli*, the Broom feast, which fell in the first half of our September, was undoubtedly a harvest feast.

Beside this ruler of the fourteenth day-count, and thoroughly corresponding with the nature both of the goddess and of the sign, is figured a house at the threshold of which stands an owl, that is, the *dark house of Earth*, the dark interior of the Earth. In Codex Borgia and on Sheet 30 of our manuscript is seen leaning against the threshold a bundle of *molinalli* grass, while on Sheet 91 a stream of water runs down at the threshold. It may not be impossible that in the first we should recognise medicinal herbs, in the second medicinal drinks, since *Tloquetl* or *Tetecinnan* was indeed the great patroness of medicine:—

*quinoteotlaya yn titiri*—she was honoured by the physicians,  
*yn teytzinique tetzinanque*—who let blood, who heal diarrhas,  
*tetlanocuitique, teyxpaticque*—who constipation heal, the eye-doctors  
*auk yn cina temiximilitique*—and the midwives,  
*tepillulitique tetlatlacitique*—the 'abortionists,'  
*tlapouaque atan teytiani*—the soothsayers, those who in the water the future see,  
*tlachayauhque mecatlapouaque*—the casters of maize grains, the tiers of thresholds,  
*tetlanocuitique*—those who draw something from one's body,  
*tetlanocuitlanque teyxcuitlanque*—those who take the worms from the teeth and from the eyes;  
*no yehantín quilitlanque yn temazcalque*—honoured her, too, those in the vapour-baths.  
*yymapa yn quilitlaya yn izipila*—because her image was set up  
*yn temazcalque*—at the front of the vapour-bath  
*quilocoyotlaya temazcalteci*—they called her 'mother of the vapour-baths.'

The fifteenth sign and its ruler stand in Codex Borgia in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 11, in our manuscript in the left division of the lower half of Sheet 30, and in the right half of Sheet 92.

The fifteenth day-count bears the name of *quauhtli*, 'Eagle.' It is indicated by the head or the whole figure of this animal, which is figured with white and black or brown and black striped plumage and bristling feather-crest. Like the jaguar, the animal of the preceding sign, it is set with stone knives on all the prominent parts of the body or of the head, by which the rapacious, combative nature of this bird is symbolised.

For the Mexicans, as for other peoples, the eagle was the warrior. *Quauhtli-ocelotl*, 'Eagle and Jaguar,' was in somewhat more choice language the usual expression for *yochtli*, 'Warrior,' *quauhtlaltl-ocelotlaltl*, 'the Eagle Mat, the Jaguar Mat,' 'an office administered by persons of military rank.' *Quauhtpilli*, 'Eagle-born,' denoted those persons of military rank themselves by contrast with *tlapocpilli*, the prince of royal blood; *quauhtliti*, a military captain, by contrast with *tlatouani*, the king of a country. For the Mexicans the eagle was in a special sense the heavenly warrior, the Sun, which was called the *tonantli* or *tonanetl*, the illuminating, *xichpilli* or *xippilli*, 'the Turquoise-born,' the 'Prince,' the 'young Fire God,' and *quauhtleauitl*, 'the rising Eagle.' *Quauhtlicalli*, 'the Eagle-dish,' is the 'vaso del Sol,' the dish from which the eagle drinks, the sacrificial-blood vessel. *Quauhtli*, 'the Eagle Cactus-fig,' the fruit that the eagle relishes, that is, the heart of the victims with which the Sun is nourished. And *Quauhtliuall*, 'the hen Eagle,' or *Yauicalli*, 'the female Warrior,' was the name of

the warlike goddess of *Colhuacua*, *Ciuacouatl* or *Quilaztli*, who perhaps received this name, because she was originally thought of as consort of the Sun God; but as a warrior had, according to Mexican notions, to yield to the warrior's fate, hence had to end her days on the sacrificial stone. Hence the widely diffused story that the great goddess, known now by one, now by another name, and merged in the popular imagination with the all-nourisher, the all-begetter, the Earth, had suffered the death of the warriors, that she was the first victim that had been offered to the Sun.<sup>1</sup> And when a warrior made a capture, and was consequently about to present a fresh victim to the Sun, he daubed himself with eagles' feathers (*quauhquilitl*), or more correctly with eagles' down (*quauhllacoyotl*). At least the nobles did so, since for ordinary warriors eagles' down would doubtless have been too costly a material.

As image and ruler of this sign there, however, appears, not the sun itself, but a god who stands in the closest relation with war and the warrior's death. In Codex Borgia (Fig. 380) and on Sheet 30

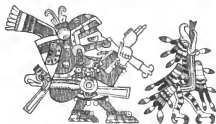
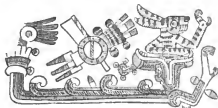


Fig. 380. *Tlathauhuys Tezcatlipoca*, the Red *Tezcatlipoca*, as Representative of *Xipe Totec*, Ruler of the Fifteenth Day-count *quauhtli*, 'Eagle.' Codex Borgia II (= Kingsborough 29).

god who is figured on Sheet 30 of our manuscript as regent of the fifteenth day-count deviates from the typical *Tezcatlipoca* pictures. For this *Tezcatlipoca* of Sheet 30 of our manuscript, who is there seated on the shield and paper flag, the emblems of war, or rather of the *Sacrificio gladiatorio*, is not arranged with the simple white loin-cloth, such as is worn by the god of the Codex Borgia sheet (Fig. 380), nor yet with the variegated one like that of the Sun God shown on the *Tezcatlipoca* figures at Figs. 382a, b, but bears the ends of the god *Xipe Totec*'s loin-cloth painted in white (or rather light pink) and red colours, the colours of the *tlauhquechol*, the red spoon-bill, and at the end forking off swallow-tail fashion. And if this be already an indication that under this red *Tezcatlipoca* is here couched another deity, the supposition becomes a certainty from the simple fact that on Sheet 22 of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 167, the report on the *Uchilimatzin*, the great goddess of the district of *Mexitlan*; also the *Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas*, chap. vi., and the stories about *Ciuacouatl* of *Colhuacua*.

our manuscript *Xipe Totec* alone is figured as ruler of the fifteenth day-count, and that, too, in his typical style, with the mask of human skin before his face, leaving only a narrow slit for the eye, draped in the skin of the flayed victim, its hands hanging down below his hands, and in the pierced nasal septum wearing the white and red striped staff, at the ends forked off swallow-tail fashion, from which a plate in the form of the *yopitzontli*, *Xipe's* peaked cap, hangs down over his mouth. In like manner, as we shall see in the fourteenth *Tonalanocht* division, which has the same ruler as the fifteenth day-count, the real *Xipe Totec* is everywhere exhibited as ruler, and is so explained by the interpreters.

*Xipe Totec*, 'our Lord the Flayed,' was the god in whose honour the great feast of human flaying, *tlacaxipeualistli*, was held in the early spring in Mexico and, if we are to believe the reports, throughout

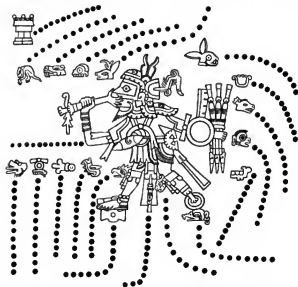


Fig. 381. *Tonaltecuhtli*, the Wind, and the Twenty Signs of the *Tonalanocht*.  
Coles *Festschm.* Mayer 44 (= Kinshipsohng 1).

the whole of the Mexican domain. And it is of this very *Xipe* that Duran<sup>1</sup> and the interpreter of the pictorial manuscript in the Florentine Biblioteca Nazionale<sup>2</sup> tell us that he was also called *Tlalauhqui Tzacatlipoan*, and was also without doubt the *Totec Tlalauhqui Tzacatlipoan*,<sup>3</sup> who was honoured by the *Yopi* or *Thoppauesen*, a tribe of Zapotec connection; for his temple in Mexico was called *Yopico*, 'in Yopiland,' and his cap was known as *yopitzontli*, 'the Yopi-hair,' or 'the Yopi-head.' In a work devoted to the yearly feasts of the Mexicans<sup>4</sup> I have advanced proof that this feast of flaying was essentially one kept in preparation for seed-time, that the god himself, according to his proper nature, is to be designated as a *god of the Earth*, that he therefore likewise carries the rattle-stick, the *chicouanistli*, like the other gods of the Earth, of Maize-fruit, of Water and Rain, and that on that account also the victims at his feast were flayed, while he himself went clothed in the skin of the victim. For the same thing took place at the feast of the

<sup>1</sup> Duran *l. Tratado 2<sup>o</sup> chap.*

<sup>2</sup> *F.d.* 17 back.

<sup>3</sup> Sahagun, *x. chap. xxix. § 9.*

<sup>4</sup> *Veröffentlicheungen aus dem Königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde*, vol. VI. parte II. iv. p. 85 seq.

Earth Goddess at the Broom feast *Ochpanishti*, and the Earth Goddess *Tezcatl*, too, as shown by the picture in Codex Borbonicus reproduced above at Fig. 51, p. 24, is clothed in a human skin taken from a victim. The only difference is that at the *Tezcatlipanistli* people were offered and flayed in masses, whereas at the *Ochpanishti* on the whole only one representative of the Earth Goddess suffered this fate. Now, we have above already seen that the Earth Goddesses were designated as the female warriors, and that the notion universally prevailed that the Earth Goddess was the first who ended her days on the sacrificial stone. The Mexicans were an agricultural people, and the feasts celebrated at various times of the year

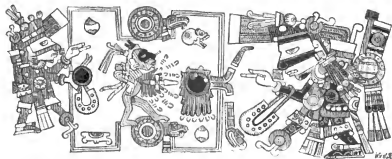
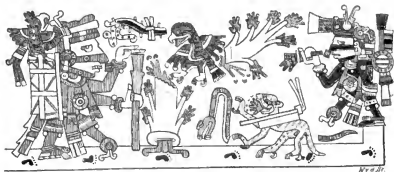


Fig. 38a, b. The Red and Black (*Tlaltrahuque* and *Tapanahuque*) *Tenatlipyca*. Codex Borbonicus II (= Kingsborough 18).

had always some relation to husbandry. The various sacrifices were offered to make the field fertile, and to obtain the rain required for the growth of the seed. Hence the chief and the most numerous sacrifices took place in the first quarter of the year. But in order to enrich the soil with the blood of the victims, to make it productive with the blood of the victims, the victims had first to be procured, and they were obtained by war. In the Mexican tradition the institution of war is traced precisely to the necessity of being able to nourish the Sun with the hearts of the sacrificed. Hence it is not at all surprising that both the Earth Goddesses and this Earth God appear in warlike form equipped with the implements of war. Now, the peculiarity of the feast held in honour of *Xipe Totec* was that on this occasion the war which had to provide the necessary victims was carried out in dramatic fashion, one

of the captives being lashed by one foot to a round stone (*temalacatl*), where he had to defend himself against warriors attacking him with sharp weapons. Not till he was wounded and exhausted, and could no longer ward off the blows, was he seized and sacrificed in the regular way. Such was the *Sacrificio gladiatorio* which formed one of the chief and most essential parts of the *Tlaoxapenatliztli* feast.

One understands that the god of this feast was suited in a pre-eminent way to serve as an image of the military sign of the eagle; since for the Mexicans he symbolised, not only war, but also the fate of the warrior, which was this very death on the sacrificial stone, as is stated over and again in the texts on the most diverse occasions.

Beside this god of the fifteenth day-count, in all three places under consideration is figured a snake from whose throat a rabbit is issuing. In Codex Borgia (cf. Fig. 380 *supra*, p. 174) it is clearly drawn as a feather-snake, as *quetzalcoatl*, and on Sheet 31, too, of our manuscript it is set with curling feathers along the whole length of the body, like the feather-snake which we see in the waters before the Water Goddess in the lower half of Sheet 21 of our manuscript. On Sheet 92, on the contrary, the snake is figured only with large black spots on its body, like the large snake on Sheet 27, which, however, we had likewise to identify as the feather-snake, as *quetzalcoatl*. Similar snakes are also pictured in the series of the rulers of the *Tonalamatl* divisions, with *Xipe Totec*, ruler of the fourteenth *Tonalamatl* division, which indeed has the same ruler as the fifteenth day-count, only there a rabbit is not issuing from the snake's throat, but a man is seen disappearing head foremost in the snake's throat.

The occurrence of the feather-snake in the water before *Chalchiuhtlicue*, sixth of the nine Lords of the Night Hours, is for me a proof that the feather-snake is intended to denote water, or the fertilising property of water, that there on Sheet 21 of our manuscript it stands as a homologue of the green jewel, the *chalchihuitl*, which we see in the water before the Water Goddess in the corresponding Codex Borgia figure. But for the Mexicans the rabbit was a symbol of the Earth. Below, with the fourteenth *Tonalamatl* division, I will consider the other symbols there pictured, and discuss this whole question connectedly, and hope thus to make it credible that this feather-snake with the rabbit in its throat is intended to signify nothing else but that the Earth, fertilised by the new rain, clothes itself in fresh verdure.

The sixteenth day-count and its ruler stand in Codex Borgia in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 11, in our manuscript in the right division of the lower half of Sheet 29, and in the left half of Sheet 92.

The sixteenth day-count bears the name of *cozoqueauhtli*, which literally means 'Necklace Eagle.' Molina translates the word 'agulla de cabeza bermeja,' by which was designated the great (king) vulture, the *Sarcophanphus papa* Dum., which by the present Spanish-speaking Mexicans is called 'Rey de zopilotes.' The sign is as a rule symbolised by the head alone, seldom by the whole figure of this bird. The beak is not painted yellow, as with the eagle, but white; and above the eye the featherless red skin of the head is shown distinctly. But to it is further normally attached a human ear with a pendant inserted in it. This is here doubtless nothing but a hieroglyphic denotation of the *cozoatl*, the 'Jewel, the chain of beads,' which is contained in the name of this animal. Occasionally also the bird is further figured with a kind of hairy wig, and in other places with a bow-like head adornment.

The vulture has a bald head, and therefore became for the Mexicans the emblem of long life, of the shortcomings and advantages of age. Of those born under its sign it was said that they would reach a great age, and that they would behave like old people, readily proffer advice gather listeners as pupils about them, and so on.

As regent of this sign we meet a remarkable form, which in Codex Borgia (Fig. 383) and on Sheet 29 of our manuscript is depicted as a woman, with jaguar claws at arms and legs, in Codex Borgia with a skull for her head, on Sheet 29 of our manuscript with an ordinary human face, but in both cases with

a facial painting which recalls that of the Fire God. But the most striking feature of this figure consists of a kind of collar or *quechquemilt*, which has the form and colouring of a butterfly's wing, and is set with stone knives at the prominent points. With this the Codex Borgia figure further combines a black enagua with a pattern of stone knives on its surface and set with stone knives all along the lower edge. In Codex Borgia, as we shall see, quite similarly pictured is the ruler of the fifteenth *Tonalamatt* division answering to the sixteenth day-count, while on Sheet 92 of our manuscript, and on the sheet of our manuscript devoted to the fifteenth *Tonalamatt* division and its ruler, is depicted a very fantastic being furnished with human teeth, but mainly an animal form, which is evidently thought of as an insect, and even displays a kind of butterfly's wing edged round with stone knives. Hence the interpreters doubtless correctly give *Itzypalotl*, 'Obsidian-knife Butterfly,' as the name of this creature. Beside this obsidian-knife butterfly, in all the places, those where the sixteenth day-count and its ruler



FIG. 283. *Itzypalotl*, the Obsidian Butterfly,  
Ruler of the Sixteenth Day-count *ocoyauachtli*, 'Vulture.'  
Codex Borgia 11 (= Kingsborough 28).

are figured, as well as those showing the fifteenth *Tonalamatt* division and its ruler, we find the picture of a flowering tree which is broken in the middle, while blood flows from the two wounded parts. On Sheet 11 of Codex Borgia, and on Sheet 29 of our manuscript, on this tree is further designed an animal of spacious aspect but difficult to determine zoologically. For this broken tree the interpreters give the name of *Temoanchan* or *Xochitl imcan*.

Both names, *Itzypalotl* and *Temoanchan*, are known to us also from other sources. In the text of the *Anales de Quauhthlan* *Itzypalotl* is repeatedly mentioned in association with *Micvotl*, the Chichimec god, God of the Hunt and of Hunters, or else with the *Centzon mimicoana*, the 400 hunting gods, the gods of the North. *Shu* it was—*ce tlaxatl cihuatl ilocan Itzypalotl*—who founded the oldest Chichimec kingdom in *Nepameyocan*, the 'Place

of the Wild Agave.' In the song to *Tetec imcan*, fourth of the 'Cantares que decian a honra de los dioses en los templos y fuera dellon,' a few strophes are introduced, which obviously have no longer reference to the *Tetec imcan*, but to this very Chichimec goddess. Here we read:—

*ahniya ahoga teatl*—there came the god,  
*ca teocantli papa*—on the melon cactus,  
*tona aya itzypalotli*—our Mother, the obsidian butterfly,  
*aa, aa, ticayitaca*—you give her food,  
*chicunacictlavalla*—on the nine steppes,  
*muqatl yolla, ya*—with deer hearts,  
*movalti:qai tonan tlaltocalli*—is our Mother, the Earth Goddess nourished.

And like the other Earth Goddesses, this Chichimec goddess, too, is regarded as the one with whom

the first sacrifice is made. Thus *Matteo Casmargo*<sup>1</sup> relates that the tribes issuing from *Chicomoztoc*, the 'Seven Caves,' first came to *Maçatepec*, the 'Door Mountain,' where they leave *Itzelli* and *Xishnel* as settlers behind them. Then they move further to the province of *Tepaneco*—*que quierio decir "en el cerro del Ezo,"* y aqui usaron à *Itzapalatl*, al cual mató *Minich* à flechazos.

If therefore *Itzapalatl* is the *Chichimec Earth Goddess*, associate of *Mixcoatl*, the Chichimec god, by *Tamoanchan*, 'the House of Descent,' or *Xochitl itzaco*, 'the Place where are the Flowers,' is in its strict sense to be understood the Paradise of the West, the abode of the Earth Goddesses and of maize. But in the tradition this place likewise appears as the primeval home where the tribes still lived as Chichimecs, hence it denotes the primeval time, the *Chichimec time*. I have once already referred to the story handed down by Sahagun about the landing of the tribes in Pánuco, and how they migrated along the coast southwards till they reached Guatemala and *Tamoanchan* beyond it, where the *tlamatinimé*, *amoranque*, the 'Sages and the Book-keepers,' that is, the mythical Toltecs, separated from them, and *tonatimé ilico*, went eastwards, taking the Teotec culture with them. For those that remained behind, so the story continues, there in *Tamoanchan*, the four aged sages *Ozomoco*, *Cipactonal*, *Tlaltelocuin*, *Xochicoanaco*, composed the Calendar books (the *Tonalamotl* and the 52-years cycle) and the dream-books, and thereby were determined the periods of Teotec rule, of Tepanec rule, of Mexican rule, and of the various Chichimec rules. When again the *Olmeca Uixtotin*, the inhabitants



Fig. 364. The Seventeenth Day-count sign, 'Motion.' a. Sahagun vs. BDM. Lanzeriana. b. Codex Telleriano-Remensis. c. *Tonalamotl* of the Aubin Collection. d. Codex Borbonicus. e, f, g. Codex Borgia.

of the southern gulf coast, and the *Cuexteca*, the Huastecs, separated from the rest, these fared further under the lead of the historic *Toltecs*. And they came in their order to the places of their later settlements, first the *Otomé*, then the historical *Tolteca*, the inhabitants of *Xocotitlan* and *Tollan*, then the *Taschichimecs*, those are the *Tlaxcaltecs* and their kindred, then the *Michiqué*, then the *Nauatlaca*, and lastly the *Mexica*.

It is therefore clear that *Tamoanchan* and *Itzapalatl* are intended to denote the elden time, the Chichimec period, and the goddess of the elden time. And in my elucidation of the *Tonalamotl* of the Aubin collection<sup>2</sup> I have advanced the view that they stand as the representatives of the sixteenth day-count, of the bald-headed vulture, because this bird, too, was regarded as an emblem of age, although only with respect to the individual life of man.

The seventeenth sign and its ruler stand in Codex Borgia in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 10, in our manuscript in the central division of the lower half of Sheet 29, and in the right half of Sheet 93.

The seventeenth day-count bears the name of *otia*, that is, 'Rolling Motion,' derived from a root *ot*, which means something round, and appears to be common to the Mexican and the Maya languages, and is without doubt also contained in the ordinary word for rubber (*olli*), the material that supplied the ball for ball-playing. But the verb *otini* is used not only for a rolling motion, but also, for instance, for the earthquake, and for the forward movement of a crowd of people. It was rather difficult to express a sign of this significance hieroglyphically. Starting from the circumstance

<sup>1</sup> *Historia de Tlaxcala* I, chap. v.

<sup>2</sup> Berlin and London, 1900-1901, p. 104.

that the day *noh' o'oh*, 'four Motion'—on what grounds I leave for the present unexplained—the day dedicated to the Sun, was in a measure its hieroglyph, and hence was later everywhere figured in the centre of the solar picture, e.g. on the bottom of the sacrificial vessels, and on the great so-called Calendar Stone of Mexico, it was apparently sought to give expression to the concept *ohi* by endeavouring to give a picture of the *course of the Sun*. Therefore two fields were drawn side by side, one light and one dark, that is a red and a blue, one of which was intended to symbolise the day sky, the other the night sky, or else one perhaps the southern, the other the northern half of the

sky. To the ends of the two fields was given a sideward turn outwards, perhaps also because for the greater part of the year the Sun climbs the sky along an oblique curve. But in the centre was put an eye, the emblem of the Sun (cf. Fig. 384). To this in the Mexican manuscripts proper in the median-line was further added a kind of dart (cf. Fig. 384b, d), which is composed of a ray and an elongated eye, elements of the usual Mexican solar image, hence more accurately determines the eye introduced in the middle of the sign. A special form is also Fig. 384g, which is also met in the picture at Fig. 380, which occurs in Codex Borgia alone. Here the two differently coloured fields are alone drawn with their ends turned outwards. The fields are not disposed side by side, touching each other, with their curved parts in the middle, as in the other pictures, but on the contrary are intertwined so that the curved parts of the fields come to be turned outwards. Hence to the latter was given a kind of joint, exactly like what we are accustomed to see on the outward turned curvature of nasal crescents, and on the contour lines of the familiar hieroglyphs of the mountain (*tepetl*) and the rock (*tecl*).

Another notion is yielded by the Zapotec and the Maya names of this day-count, as also by its Maya hieroglyphs. The Zapotec name *ooh* means 'mighty,' 'violent,' and 'earthquake' (*ooh, ooh'ohi, 'temblor de tierra; t'ih'o la yoo, 'temblar la tierra; pit'oo ooh, 'dios de los terremotos*). The Zo'tzil-Tzeltal word *ohic* is 'to shake'; the Guatemalteco

*noh*, 'great, potent,' answering to the fundamental meaning of the Zapotec *ooh*. But the Yucatec name *ooh'oh* means 'what is brought down, what is below,' as much as to say the earth, the world. Accordingly the Maya hieroglyph of this sign (cf. Figs. 385-387) shows us the reduced form of a woman's head, of the Goddess of Earth, a fact to which I first drew attention in a monograph published in the year 1891.<sup>1</sup> And we therefore find this hieroglyph as a chief element in the Maya



Fig. 385.

Fig. 386a.

Fig. 386b.

Fig. 386. Hieroglyph *ooh'oh*, of the Seventeenth Maya Day-count.

Fig. 386c. Hieroglyph of the Woman (cf. Fig. 387).

Dresden Maya Manuscript.

Fig. 386d. Hieroglyph of the Young Goddess (*Ex chebl' g'oo*). Dresden Maya Manuscript.



Fig. 387. a. The Woman's Head. Hieroglyph of the Nunciatec one. Palenque Altar Plate. b, c. The Woman and her Hieroglyph. Dresden Manuscript. d. Woman's Head. Palenque. Inscription Temple.



Fig. 388. Hieroglyph of the Fifth Quarter of the *Haceca*, the quarter from above downwards. Codex Tro, 35<sup>a</sup>; Codex Cortes 22.

<sup>1</sup> Die mexikanische Chronologie, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des zapotekischen Kalenders, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, vol. xviii. Cf. 'Gesammelte Abhandlungen von amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde.' Berlin (A. Asher & Co.) 1902, vol. i, pp. 348-500.



hieroglyph of the fifth quarter of the heavens (Fig. 388), the quarter from above downwards. It is evident that in all these cases the learned must have had in mind what the Mexicans called *tlal-dini*, that is, earthquakes.

But, for the person who was chosen in our manuscripts as ruler of this sign, no direct consideration was had either for the one or the other of the two notions which for the Mexicans and the Central Americans were associated with the seventeenth day-count. Regard would rather appear to have been paid to the original meaning of the root from which the name *din* was derived, that is to say, 'something round,' 'ball,' 'rubber ball.' For here, in the corresponding place in Codex Borgia (Fig. 389) we see figured a god, who has the body and face painting of the god *Mucuilzochiltl*, whom I have already above referred to with the eleventh day-count, and shall again have later to deal with more in detail. But with this body and face painting the god of Fig. 389 combines a *protruding eye* and *distorted limbs*, and on his breast he wears a human lower jaw, which perhaps with the green band to which it is attached completes the hieroglyph *molinalli*. Lastly, at the corresponding places in our manuscript no human figure at all is pictured, but simply a *dog*, which on Sheet 29 of our manuscript is decked with an axe-shaped earplug and a broad collar with a ray-like pattern, and in his nostril wears a peculiar plug exactly like that which we met with the mummy-pack representing the dead warrior (Fig. 385 *supra*, p. 156), and which by the interpreter is there called *yoacrisuitl*, 'nasal turquoise,' or 'blue nose ornament.' In the sixteenth *Tonalamantl* division corresponding to the seventeenth day-count, it is likewise a dog-like creature, as we shall see, that is there figured as ruler. For this creature the interpreters there give the name *Xolotl*, and designate him as *God of Twins*—'Este *xolotl* era señor de los XII dias dizen quera señor de los emolliços y todas las cosas que nascian juntas.'<sup>1</sup> Hence this name *Xolotl* must also hold good for the ruler of our seventeenth day-count. And the question now arises, what are we to assume as the underlying significance of this remarkable figure, and how this god has come to be accepted as emblem and expression of the day-count *din*. Now, as I think, here two different relations come into consideration.

One is, as I first pointed out in my elucidation of the *Tonalamantl* of the Aubin collection,<sup>2</sup> and which I there put in the foreground, that the root of the name *din* suggested to the Mexicans the notion of the rubber ball (*dli*), and, as a consequence, of ball-playing (*tlachtli*). This was the peculiar game which was widespread throughout the whole of Central America, and, as may be inferred from the statements of *Oviedo*, was likewise known and practised by the aborigines of the Great Antilles—the game which was called by the Spaniards 'el juego de la pelota con las nalgas,' and about which I have given some details in my book on *Chaculá*, where too I have described quite



Fig. 389. *Xolotl*, God of the Ball-count, of Twins and Moustacheites. Ruler of the Seventeenth Day-count *din*, 'Molina.' Codex Borgia 10 (- Kingsborough 29).

<sup>1</sup> Colex Telleriano-Berruozin, fol. 19 back (- Kingsborough 24).

<sup>2</sup> Berlin and London, 1900-1901, p. 169.

a number of old ball-courts.<sup>1</sup> *Xolotl* is expressly mentioned as god of this game. Thus the interpreter of the pictorial manuscript of the Florentine Biblioteca Nazionale<sup>2</sup> calls the Wind God *Quetzilcoatl* the brother of a god—*que so llamava Xolotl el qual ponian en los juegos de pelota.* And in the song which was sung at the octennial feast of water-fritter eating (*atomolmaliztli*)<sup>3</sup> in the ninth strophe we read:—

*ollama, ollama vive xolotl—* Ball plays Xolotl;  
*avvillatleco ollamayo xolotl—* on the bewitched ball-court ball plays Xolotl.<sup>4</sup>

We may now assume the fundamental notion of that god to have been that, since at least two persons or two parties are always required for a game of ball, therefore he became the God of Twins, from which the other meanings were then developed that I shall have presently to examine.

But it might likewise be assumed contrariwise that the meaning 'God of Twins' was the original, and that, just because two are always required for ball-playing, he became the God of the Ball-court. In any case, in the language the meaning 'twin' predominates. According to Sahagun the word *xolotl* itself denoted a double maize plant, *axolotl* a double agave plant, while *tecolotl* is the stone pestle rounded off like a ball at both ends, which in the Mexican kitchen is still a much-used implement for grinding tomatoes, pepper-peels, and the other things that are worked up as ingredients for the numerous sauces and spices in which the Mexicans excel. Now the Mexicans, like other primitive peoples, regarded a twin birth, as well as any kind of doubling, as something preternatural, unnatural, unseemly. Hence immediately after such a birth the Mexican parents killed one of the twins. But from this notion with the word *xolotl* was further associated the concept of a 'monstrous birth.' The remarkable well-known amphibian, the larva of the *Amblystoma mexicanum* inhabiting the Mexican lagoons, has presumably for this very reason been called *axolotl*, the 'water monstrosity.' The names *xolo-tteuicilli*, and (in Zapotec) *peco-xilo* applied to the hairless dog, have sprung from the same mode of expression; and it was without doubt owing to this that the god *Xolotl*, too, came to be regarded as God of Monstrosities. Hence it is that at Fig. 389 we see him pictured with extruded eye and crippled limbs. The word *xolotl*, however, underwent yet another development. Like the princes of our medieval and still more recent times, the Mexican nobles, too, found pleasure in misshapen creatures, in hunchbacks and dwarfs, and were wont to surround themselves with the like. In the accounts of *Moteczuhoma*, and especially in Tezozomoc's Mexican Chronicle, there is constant reference to the *xoloma*, the hunchbacks and dwarfs, who were in the suite of this prince. And in Molina's Vocabulary the word *xolo* is simply translated 'palver slave, page' (*paje, moço, criado ó esclavo*). That the god *Xolotl* in met figured in dog form, is perhaps due to this custom; for the thought of the hairless dog seems excluded since, here in our Vatican at least, the dog *Xolotl* is in both places pictured as hairy and even thickly coated. On the other hand we shall undoubtedly have to think of the dog, who, as I have above stated (cf. p. 157), was the *attendant*, the *helpful companion*, the *servant* (*xolotl*) of the dead. And in fact, as we have above seen, the helpful dog in effigy, with which the dead were equipped, was called *xolozotl*. And I have above mentioned that the *Xolotl* of Sheet 29 of our manuscript does in fact wear the ornament of the dead, *pacariviti*, in its nose.

But, starting from this concept, yet another relation to the day-count *odin* seems to follow. We have above seen that with the Mexicans the sign *odin* was held to be simply a sign of the Sun. Now we find a remarkable statement in P. Juan de Córdova's Zapotec Grammar. Towards the end of his

<sup>1</sup> 'Die alten Ansehungen von Charulá im Distrikte Nentou des Departements Hochsteerango der Republik Guatemala.' Berlin (Dietrich Reimer) 1902, pp. 26-29, 57, 102.

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 21 back.

<sup>3</sup> Cantares que se cantan á honra de los dioses en los templos y sacros dellos Nr. 217. (Sahagun ms. Bib. del Palacio.)

book the author comes to speak, amongst other things, of solar and lunar eclipses, and there writes as under:—

'When a solar eclipse occurred, then they said that the world is coming to an end, and that the Sun God wanted war, and that they would kill one another, whoever was able first to do this. Likewise they said that the dwarfs were created by the Sun, and that at the time (of the eclipse) the Sun God wanted the dwarfs as his property. And therefore, wherever dwarfs or undersized persons were found in a house, the people fell upon and killed them, and they hid themselves in order not to be killed, so that during that time few escaped from their fate.'

This statement has its counterpart in a long-known mythological tale. In the second chapter of his seventh book Sahagun relates how the gods assembled in *Totitlacahuacan* took counsel with each other how Sun and Moon should be created. They decided that one of them should jump into the fire and get burnt in order thereby to become the Sun. The jump was risked by *Nanauatzin*, the little syphilitic god, and after him *Tecizteuacatl* leaps into the fire, and both then ascend to the sky as Sun and Moon. But having risen above the horizon both orbs stand still, unable to move further. Thereupon the gods resolved to sacrifice themselves in order to give life to the Sun. All are ready, and *Quetzalcoatl* performs the sacrifice. *Xolotl* alone hesitates. He weeps his eyes out of their sockets, hides away in the maize-fields, changing himself to the *xolotl*, the double maize plant, then flees to the maguey-fields, changing himself to the *mezolotl*, the double agave plant, and eventually escapes to the water, there becoming the *axolotl*, the larva of the *Amblystoma mexicanum*, is, however, seized in the water and thereupon immolated.

The draughtsman of our manuscript had the God of Ball-playing in his mind, for he has pictured the god of this sign with the facial painting of *Mucuilizochitl*, God of the game. But he had also in mind the God of Monstrosities, since he has drawn him with deformed limbs. But he had assuredly *Xolotl* also in his eye, he who is sacrificed to give life to the Sun. For in all three places (cf. Fig. 389 and Sheets 29 and 93 of our manuscript) above the god expression is given to human sacrifice, or rather to the cannibalism associated with human sacrifice, as shown by a cooking-pot, in which a dismembered human body is simulating.

The eighteenth day-count and its ruler stand in Codex Borgia in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 10, in our manuscript in the left division of the lower half of Sheet 29, and in the left half of Sheet 93.

The eighteenth day-count bears the name of *tecpatl*, 'Flint Knife,' and is everywhere symbolised by the leaf-shaped white flint blade which is painted dipped in blood on the upper half or at the posterior end. Moreover, as a rule the sharp edge of the implement is represented by a set of teeth enclosed by red gums, or else across the cutting edge have been introduced two jaws furnished with teeth or designed as dead men's jaws, and above it a dead eye with overhanging brow, thus transforming the whole to the face of a skull.

In all three places under consideration, as image and ruler of this sign, is figured a turkey, which by the interpreters is here called *Cholchihuitototl*, 'Jewel-fowl,' and explained as the emblem of *Tecatlipuec*. I have already had once occasion to mention (cf. *supra*, p. 75) that the turkey is the bird of *Tlaloc*, God of Rain, and that we still meet with this notion amongst tribes living in primitive conditions and prepossessed by primitive spheres of thought. Now the turkey denoted water: but here in these places obviously not ordinary water, for in that case we could little understand how he could here be placed as image and ruler of the sign *tecpatl*, 'Flint Knife,' 'Sacrificial Knife.' Hence the water here meant is the *cholchihuitl*, the 'Jewel-water,' that is, blood. Moreover, this is made very clear by the group which we see pictured

<sup>1</sup> *Arte del Eñina Zapoteca* por el P. Fr. Juan de Córdoba. Morelia 1886, p. 215.

with this bird on the Codex Borgia sheet (cf. Fig. 390), and in an analogous way likewise on Sheet 93 of our manuscript (Fig. 391). For there (Fig. 390) we actually find the hieroglyph *chotekiwitl*, 'Green Jewel,' and the hieroglyph *atl*, 'Water,' which combined yield *chotekiwitl*, 'Jewel-water.' And that here this 'Jewel-water' is meant to denote blood is shown with equal clearness at Fig. 390 by the side picture, with which Fig. 391 of our manuscript corresponds: for here, within an enclosure platted of green and white red-speckled (grass or reed) strips, a priest is seen seated, with the *yetecomatl*, the tobacco calabash, badge of the priests, on his back, and with a sharp-pointed bone (*owitl*), a bone dagger, gouging out his eye, that is, sacrificing himself, drawing blood from incisions in his own body, to bring it as an offering to the gods. This is made still clearer by the picture (Fig. 392) which we find figured in the seventeenth *Tonalamatl* division of Codex Telleriano-Remensis opposite the *Chotekiwitl*, the Turkey-cock, and which corresponds to the eighteenth day-count. Here is shown, not the priest, but the young warrior with the copal-pouch in his hand, and with the sharp bone piercing his ear, from which the blood issues.



Fig. 390. *nepetliti*, the Mortification, and *chotekiwitl-atl*, 'the Precious Water (of Mortification),' Codex Borgia 10 (= Kingsborough 29).



Fig. 391. *nepetliti*, the Mortification. Codex Vaticanus B 69 (= Kingsborough 4).



Fig. 392. The Penitent (*manantepini*). Codex Telleriano-Remensis, fol. 21 recto (= Kingsborough 12, 27).

The nineteenth day-count and its ruler stand in Codex Borgia in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 9, in our manuscript in the right division of the lower half of Sheet 28, and in the right half of Sheet 94.

The nineteenth day-count bears the name of *quixotl*, 'Rain,' and is everywhere illustrated by the Rain God *Tlaltec*'s head in more or less developed or more or less reduced form. Instead of it is given the name *ayatl*, 'Turtle,' in the above (pp. 127, 128) list of day-counts reproduced from the Chronicle in the former Franciscan Convent at Guatemala. This *ayatl* is an interesting variant; for in it—a point which I have already laid stress upon in my elucidation of the *Tonalamatl* of the Aubin collection—a remarkable agreement is presented with North American Indian notions. *Catlin* was informed by the *Mexicans* that there were four turtles, one in the North, one in the East, one in the South, and one in the West. Each of these rained four days, and the water covered the Earth.<sup>1</sup> A hieroglyph, however, corresponding to this name I have not yet found amongst the hieroglyphs of the day-counts.

<sup>1</sup> *Catlin*, Illustrations of the manners, customs, and condition of the North-American Indians. London, 1876. I. p. 181.

Now, as regards the astrological significance of this sign, I have already above remarked that, in accordance with the priestly view directed towards special far-fetched relations not at once intelligible to every lay mind, the word *quauisuitl*, 'Rain,' was associated, not with the notion of the rain that fertilises the fields, but with that of the *tléquinisuitl*, the Fire-rain, which brought to an end the third of the four pre-historic periods, the *Quianhtouantliuh*, the [Fire]-Rain Sun.' Accordingly we find here figured as emblem of the sign *quauisuitl*, 'Rain,' not the Rain God, but *Tonatiuh*, the Sun God (Fig. 393), the expression and the embodiment of the fire falling from heaven. In Codex Borgia he is portrayed in his characteristic form, with red body and face colour and flame-coloured hair. The hair is bound up with a chain of jewelled disks, in which a conventional bird's head is inserted on the frontal side, while both before and behind project two jewelled hands ending in eagle feathers, and forming the ends of the fillet. On his head lies a feather ornament (*quauhtemalli*) likewise ending in eagle feathers. He wears a jewelled rod in the pierced nasal septum; a jewelled band hangs out of the aperture of his hollow ear-plug; and a solar dish forms his collar. Not so carefully executed, but equally recognisable is the god depicted in both parts of our manuscript, where he also shows a red body and face colour. His flame-coloured hair is bound up with a jewel-studded strap which bears a conventional bird's head on its frontal side, and on his head lies the *quauhtemalli* ending in eagle feathers, from which here hang out the highly characteristic strips of fur which form the special decoration of the Sun God. A speciality of the figure on Sheet 94 of our manuscript is the long flame-like beard rolling down to the feet, and in its form quite like the long beard with which are depicted the gods *Temoctecatl* and *Quetzalcoatl*, rulers of the first two day-counts, save that here with the Sun God the beard is flame-coloured like the hair of the head.

In all three places here under consideration above or else before the Sun God a *Fasting Man* (*moqumani*) is pictured in an enclosure similar to that of the man sacrificing himself whom we met with the ruler of the preceding sign (Fig. 390 *supra*, p. 184); but here he has a water-jug on his shoulder and he is blowing a conch (*teccatl*) (cf. Fig. 393). I have already mentioned above that, according to the belief of the Mexicans, the present shining historical Sun was preceded by four other suns or early epochs, which in the *Anales de Quauhtlan* are set forth in the following order:—

1. *Atlatlauh*, 'Water Sun.' Its sign is *naui atl*, 'four Water'; it came to an end with a great deluge, whereby men were changed to fishes;
2. *Ocelotonauh*, 'Jaguar Sun,' i.e. the Earth Sun (cf. *supra*, p. 104). Its sign is *navi ocelotl*, 'four Jaguar.' In that epoch it happened that the sky fell down, the Sun no longer wandered (on its course), in broad daylight darkness set in, and the jaguars came to devour mortals.



Fig. 393. Tonatiuh, the Sun God, and moqumani, the Fasting Man, Ruler of the Nineteenth Day-count *quauisuitl*, 'Rain.' Codex Borgia 9 (= Kingsborough 30).

3. *Quinaxtonatiuh*, '[Fire]-Rain Sun.' Its sign is *nani quinuitl*, 'four Rain.' In its time *Five rained from heaven*, that the inhabitants were burnt. And in its time there ensued the volcanic stones, the bubbling lava (*teyonlli*), the bombs and the lapilli (*tevinuitl*), and the volcanic ashes (*saltell*);
4. *Ectonatiuh*, 'Wind Sun.' Its sign is *nani icuall*, 'four Wind.' It perished through wind-storms and men were changed to monkeys.

Not till these four suns or four earthly epochs were ended did the present epoch begin: it began in a year *oc tockli*, 'one Rabbit,' and in it, 25 years thereafter, in the year *matlaclli omei ocutl*, 'thirteen Reed,' was born the present, the historical Sun, which we see represented on the great so-called Calendar Stone in Mexico, with the date of its birth, the just-mentioned date *matlaclli omei ocutl*, 'thirteen Reed.' This Sun is therefore the fifth, and according to the same *Anales de Quauhtlan* it bears the name of:

5. *Olintontliuh*, 'Earthquake Sun.' Its sign is the day *nani olin*, 'four Motion' (which we accordingly find given on the great so-called Calendar Stone in Mexico, and elsewhere in the centre of the solar picture), and it is destined to perish by earthquakes.

Since, therefore, the Sun and the world were fated to come to an end on the day *nani olin*, the sign of the present Sun, the Mexicans looked forward to the possibility of the world perishing on any of these *nani olin* days, which recur every 260 days. In order to prepare for the event, at each of these days there took place a great four days' fast, which was called *netonatiuhquauilli*, the 'Fasting for the Sun,' when everybody withdrew to their houses, the king to a special house called *Quaukricaleo*, 'in the sacrificial-blood dish,' to keep the fast. At noon on each of these four days *the cocha were blown*, whereupon everybody, great and little, old and young, gashed tongue and ears, and presented the blood to the Sun—doubtless with the intention thereby to give it strength to resume its course in the usual way. Quails and incense were also offered, and in the temple of *Quaukricaleo* four captives were sacrificed, two being designated as the *Chakanmē*, the 'Houses,' the others as 'Image of the Sun' and 'Image of the Moon.'

This great fast, recurring every 260 days, was in any case inseparably associated in the mind of the Mexicans with the notion of the Sun, and therefore it is that, in a measure as complementary representation, we here see fasting exhibited beside the God of the Sun.

The twentieth day-count and its ruler stand in Codex Borgia in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 9, in our manuscript in the left division of the lower half of Sheet 28, and in the left half of Sheet 94.

The twentieth day-count is *xochitl*, 'Flower.' The flower was, for the Mexicans, an emblem of the beautiful and of enjoyment. Everything that was beautiful and contributed to the enjoyment of life—colour, fragrance, taste, art and artistic skill, music and sport, but above all love, and even sexual indulgence—all was in the imagination of the Mexicans associated with the picture of the flower. With this corresponds the nature of the deity whom we find pictured with this sign.

In Codex Borgia (of Fig. 395) it is a female deity, for whom the interpreters give the name of *Xochiquetzal*. The goddess of this name was originally perhaps nothing more than the deity of one of those mountains from which the life-giving water runs down to the fields. This is already pointed at by the *quetzalli* in her name. And this seems also to be inferred from a passage in Torquemada,<sup>1</sup> who relates of the Tlaxcaltecs, that amongst their children were sacrificed in larger numbers than with other tribes, and, as with the Mexicans, to the *Gods of Water—Tlaloc, Mictlanseque, and Xochiquetzal*. This is likewise implied by the fact that the *Tlathuico*, the people of Mexican speech who inhabited the low hot valleys on the south of the Mexican plateau, held a feast in honour of *Xochiquetzal*

<sup>1</sup> *Monarquía Indiana* v. chap. xxxi.

in the *Tepetitl*, that is, in the season which the Mexicans had dedicated to the cult of the Mountain Gods, and that in the representation of this feast shown in the pictorial manuscript in the



Fig. 324. *Atxualquiditli*, the Feast of Water-fritter Eating. Sahagun MS. Biblioteca del Palacio, Madrid.

Florentine Biblioteca Nazionale, opposite the goddess *Xochiquetzol* or *Ikwiso* exhibited the Mountain Gods by means of a snake on a mountain, although the interpreter translates this 'fiesta del pueblo,' having mistaken *tepetl*, 'Mountain,' for *altepetl*, 'Village.'

It would further appear that in the concept of this goddess the dominant notion was that of the young goddess, the beloved of the Sun God (*Piltzintecualli*), or of the Maize God (*Cintéotl*), this being doubtless conditioned by the *xochitl* occurring in her name. Thus she is described in the song to *Xochiquetzal*, preserved in the Sahagun manuscripts, which I have above (p. 133) reproduced with translation. And from this it follows further that she was regarded as the first woman, and identified with *Touacaciuatl*, consort of *Touacatecutli*, Lord of Life, God of Procreation, who dwells in the uppermost thirteenth heaven. In fact, Codex Telleriano-Remensis pictures *Touacaciuatl*, consort of *Touacatecutli*, co-ruler of the first sign, with precisely the same distinctive articles of attire and badges as *Xochiquetzal*, ruler of the nineteenth *Toulanamotl* division. And contrariwise with this ruler of the nineteenth *Toulanamotl* division, in Codex Borbonicus we meet the first human pair figured in a way exactly like that which we found with *Touacatecutli*, ruler of the first day-count (cf. Fig. 340



Fig. 350. *Xochiquetzal*, Lady of the Twentieth Day-count, *xochitl*, 'Flower.'  
Codex Borjés 9 (= Kingsborough 39).

finer could be found amongst mortals. But the place where she dwelt was called *Tzucoban ichan*, *Xochitl ichan*, *Chicobanah-nepanichan*, *Itzheeyan*, that is [the House of the Descent or of Birth, the place where are the flowers, the ninefold enchained], the place of the fresh, cool winds. And every year she was honoured with a great feast, to which many people from all parts were gathered in her temple.—But after this, *Méxoc Camargo* continues:—'They say she had formerly been the spouse of the Rain God *Tlaloc*, but that *Tzucotlipoztec* had abducted her, and brought her to the nine heavens, and made her the Goddess of Love. And then there was another goddess, *Motholeweye*, the goddess to whom were attributed witchcraft and soothsaying. Her *Tlaloc* had made his consort after *Tzucotlipoztec* had carried off his wife *Xochiquetzal*.'

As Goddess of Love, *Xochiquetzal* became specially the representative and incarnation of irregular

<sup>1</sup> *Historia de Tlaxcala* i. chap. xii.



intercourse, patroness of the courtesans (*auinimé*), of unmarried women who lived with the unmarried men of the *tepochealli*, who took part in the warriors' dance, and marched off with the warriors, and were therefore called *moqui*, 'las entremetidas,' that is, 'those entering (the ranks).' Hence the obscene character of the feast kept by the *Tlathuies* in the *Tepetituitl*, described by the interpreter of the pictorial manuscript of the Florentine Biblioteca Nazionale,<sup>1</sup> at which took part young men, half boys, and girls of corresponding age, decked with the *ostocelli*, the warriors' feather head-dress. Hence also the so-called *Quechelli* feast, which was celebrated by the Tlaxcaltecs at the time when the Mexicans sacrificed the personator of *Mixcoatl*, the hunting god, the Chichimec god, at which feast many girls were sacrificed 'en memoria de los amores,' and at which the courtesans, the *moqui*, offered themselves for the sacrifice, cursing themselves, and with foul language dragging the honest women through the mire.<sup>2</sup>

The goddess further became the representative of all revelry, of the song, dance, and sport, and of everything tending to the adornment of life; patroness of artistic skill and of artistic industry, this again being conditioned by the word *xochitl* in her name. According to the interpreters, she was the deity who invented spinning and weaving, on which account she was specially honoured by female artificers and by all classes of handiersaftsmen. In the picture given by the Sahagun manuscript of the feast *atamalqualitzli* held every eighth year, where all the gods are figured in rows, we see *Xochiquetzal* in a rich garb seated at a loom, the upper cross-beam of which is attached to a flowering tree (Fig. 394, p. 187).

As ruler of the twentieth day-count, in Codex Borgia (Fig. 395) the goddess *Xochiquetzal* is shown in rich array with a *quechquemilt* of diversified pattern, edged round with a broad variegated border, and a similarly figured eagle with variegated edging and with a quetzal bird as helmet-mask. From the pierced nasal septum over the mouth hangs a large plate which is painted blue (in the colour of the turquoise), and recalls the outlines of a butterfly—a genuine *gycopsepelid*. Her special badge, the two large bunches of feathers on her head, which are so conspicuous with the goddess of Fig. 394, and are likewise very clearly shown on the numerous little clay figures found in the collections of Mexican antiquities, are here at parts somewhat hidden by the quetzal bird's head and beak. Besides the quetzal feathers, they should also contain a flower, since at the end of each bunch is found figured the complement of the flower, that is, the butterfly bending down into the calyx. Over the back of the goddess is thrown a wrap painted in the colours of the *chatchiuittl*, and out of it hang a pair of dark-coloured strings which end in a flower, and are regularly figured in the Codex Borgia *Xochiquetzal* pictures, but also with the Water Goddess *Chalchiuhtlicue*.

Corresponding with this Codex Borgia figure, the ruler of the twentieth day-count is likewise represented on Sheet 94 of our manuscript. Here, too, the face is looking out from the throat of a quetzal bird. In the pierced nasal septum hangs the blue step-shaped nasal plate, the *gycopsepelid*. A peculiar object attached to the cross is a *tezcuacuilhappilli* made from a large turtle's carapace, which we meet with of like form below, with a *Xochiquetzal* figure. Before his mouth is shown a flower. But the ruler of the twentieth day-count of Sheet 94 in our manuscript, thus arrayed like the goddess *Xochiquetzal*, is evidently no *Xochiquetzal*, no female but a male god clothed with a loin-cloth. And a male god is, too, the ruler of the twentieth day-count on Sheet 28 of our manuscript. And, indeed, here it is clear that with this day-count a *Xochipilli*, the male god of flowers and of food supplies, is intended to be represented. For in the most essential articles of its array, especially the head-dress, this figure agrees with the god who is given on Sheet 32 of our manuscript as ruler of the eleventh day-count, the sign *ocumiltli*, and, as I have above pointed out, is the very god *Xochipilli* himself. The god of our Sheet 28 differs essentially from this god of Sheet 32 only in the colour of the body,

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 28 back.

<sup>2</sup> Tezcuemada, Mss. Mex. Ind. Ind. x. chap. xxxiv.

which with this god of Shoot 32 is yellow, whereas with the other it is blue. In other respects, *Xochipilli* is quite as appropriate a representative of the day-count *xochil*, 'Flower,' as was the goddess *Xochiquetzal*. Of both, the sphere of activity is doubtless much alike. The notions associated by the Mexicans with one as with the other of these deities are about the same. At the *xochilkuil*, the feast of flowers, which was held on the day *chicome xochil*, and, as we have seen, was the feast of the gods *Xochipilli* and *Moteuilxochil*, the men, as Sahagun relates,<sup>1</sup> worshipped, and sacrificed to the god *Chicomezochil*, the women to the goddess *Xochiquetzal*.

Above, or else fronting the ruler of the twentieth day-count in all three places under consideration, we see portrayed the first woman, but here not as the young goddess *Xochiquetzal*, but as the old one, the *Hauucyeze* or *Huamatocalli*, in Codex Borgia (Fig. 395) garbed in a white robe, with white (heron-feather) hair, and with the ring-shaped appendage below the upper lip to which, in the Codex Borgia pictures, the contracted corners of the mouth have been changed. The goddess is shown occupied at the



Fig. 396. Codex Vaticanus B 24  
(= Kingsborough 76).



Fig. 397. Codex Vaticanus B 94  
(= Kingsborough 3).

The Old Goddess, the First Woman, at the Mill-stone (metlaff).

millstone (*metlaff*), preparing the maize-dough for the tortillas. But the hand-roller (*metlapilli*), with which the cooked maize grains are ground, is broken, and blood issues from the surface of the wounds (Figs. 395 and 396, 397). In my elucidation of the *Tonahmetl* of the Aubin collection I have expressed the surmise that it is intended thereby to denote the process as that of bygone times. Just in the same way we see figured broken in the middle the flowering tree with the sixteenth day-count (cf. Fig. 343 *supra*, p. 179), the tree which is intended to denote the 'place where the flowers grow,' the *Timotechota*, the long-forgotten cradle of the tribes. On Sheet 28 of our manuscript, above this old goddess, is further pictured a scorpion (*coatl*). It is possible, even probable, that thereby this goddess is meant to be brought into association with the *Uenetzotl*, the old god, that is, the Fire God, beside whom we found a scorpion figured in a similar way (cf. Figs. 353, 354 *supra*, p. 154).

## XI. The Four Times Five Guardians of the Venus Periods.

SHEETS 33-42 (= KINGSBOROUGH 81-90). UPPER HALF.

It is well known and attested by diverse authors that, besides the motion of the Sun, and the general motion of the firmament, the ancient Mexican and Central American peoples paid special attention above all to the changes of the planet Venus, its appearance now as the Morning, now as the Evening Star, its disappearance during the inferior and the superior conjunctions, and the waxing and waning of its

<sup>1</sup> Sahagun, II, chap. xix.

brightness. The remarkable figure of *Quetzalcoatl*, god of *Toltec*, as I have already had occasion above to remark, is intimately connected with these astronomic observations. The day or the year *Ce acatl*, 'one Reed,' when *Quetzalcoatl* is supposed to have died, has become the name and the hieroglyph of the Morning Star. With this hieroglyph on the fine Sheet 71 (= Kingsborough 44) of Codex Borgia, we find the Morning Star depicted before the Sun God and beside the hieroglyphic representation of the Moon.

In his elucidations of the Dresden Maya manuscript, in the year 1886, Fürstemann was the first to show proof that the synodical revolution of Venus (the distance from one conjunction to the next of like order), which averages 584 days, or more accurately 583 days, 22 hours, 6 minutes, and 40 seconds, was known to the learned section of the American priestly class, that in fact the initial days of a considerable series of such periods and of definite sections of such periods are exhibited in due order one after the other on certain sheets of the Dresden manuscript. And in a treatise published in the year 1898<sup>1</sup> I was able to

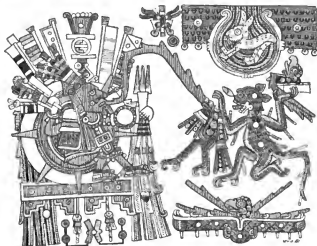


Fig. 298. Sun, Moon, and Morning Star. Codex Borgia 71 (= Kingsborough 44).

establish the fact that this period likewise forms the foundation of a number of different representations which in the Codex Borgia manuscripts are repeated in a like manner, and that one of these representations even betrays an intimate relation with the sheets of the Dresden manuscript on which the Venus period is set forth. This particular representation, which is also contained in our Mexican manuscript, we shall later have occasion to examine. On Sheets 33-42, which in our manuscript now follow next in order, on the upper halves of the sheets is exhibited another series of figures and day-counts, which is peculiar to the Codex Borgia group of manuscripts. But, besides our manuscript, this series also occurs on Sheets 15, 16, and on the upper half of Sheet 17 (= Kingsborough 24-22) of Codex Borgia, and in the upper halves of Sheets 23-29 (= Kingsborough 22-16) of Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, and as I have first pointed out in my treatise of the year 1898, this series is likewise an illustration of a certain number of Venus periods.

<sup>1</sup> 'Die Venusperiode in den Bilderschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe,' Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, July 16, 1898. Cf. 'Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde,' Berlin (A. Ascher & Co.) 1902, vol. 2, pp. 618-667.

In the number of 584 days, of which the apparent average course of Venus consists, the *Tonalamatl* of 260 days is contained twice, with 64 days over. From this it follows that, when one Venus period begins in the first of the twenty day-counts (*cipactli*), the initials of the following periods fall on the fifth (*cozatl*), ninth (*atl*), thirteenth (*teatl*), seventeenth (*olin*) signs, while the initial day of the sixth period again begins with the same sign (*cipactli*) as the first. Only the numerals combined with the signs change. In other words, with the initial days of the consecutive Venus periods coincide five only of the twenty signs which form the basis of the *Tonalamatl*. This circumstance had the natural consequence that five consecutive Venus periods were grouped together to form a unit, and in the Dresden manuscript this finds outward expression in the fact that five sheets of this manuscript are devoted to the representation of the great cycle of Venus periods. These five consecutive Venus periods are exactly equal to eight solar years of 365 days. And this equation, which I have more fully set forth in the first chapter of these commentaries (cf. *supra*, p. 4), appears to have been the starting-point for the construction of the *Tonalamatl*.

With the twenty figures which are depicted in the upper halves of the here following Sheets 33-42 of our manuscript, the five initial counts of the Venus periods are repeated four times. In this way the twenty figures are grouped in four rows of five figures each. And to this grouping corresponds the fact that in each of these four rows the figures seem to be all included in one and the same subject, whereas the four rows themselves are disconnected in respect of the action in which the artist has depicted the individuals. The first five figures are with a sharp-pointed bone gouging out the eye of a head which they hold in their hand (in Codex Borgia it is a figure standing before them). The second five figures, with a gesture of tendering or offering, are presenting a little figure which proves to be their own effigy. The third five figures from the body of a human figure lying before them are drawing out a long strip painted a yellow colour, with a wavy edging, and ending in flowers, jewels, and related symbols. The last five figures are women offering the breast to a little mannikin. All four subjects may be designated as priestly, religious scenes. For the gouging of the eye is, as we have already seen (cf. Figs. 300-302 *supra*, p. 184), a symbol of the offering of one's own blood. The tendering of the effigy is an indication of sacrifice. For it was a standing custom in Mexico for the men sacrificed to the gods to be dragged to the sacrificial stone in the colour and garb of the gods to whom they were to be immolated. The drawing of the flower or the jewel out of the body is an indication of the tearing out of the heart. And this is in our manuscript exhibited in an unmistakable way, as with one of the figures, that in the right half of the upper division of Sheet 38, which, as we shall see, represents the Sun God, the person lying before the god and having the jewel drawn from his body is depicted lying with opened breast on the sacrificial stone (cf. Fig. 416 *infra*). Lastly, the presenting of the breast on the part of the goddesses denotes the *tlatlalagualiztli*, the nourishing of the gods with the blood of the victims.

Concerning the peoples of *Totonacan*, *Cozcatlan*, and *Teotlan del camino*, Pater Roman relates<sup>1</sup> (herein presumably repeating the statements of *Motolinia* in his book about the planet Venus) that on the day when the Morning Star first became visible, they brought a human victim that the king of the country had to offer, and that each day, when the Morning Star rose, the priests greeted him with incense-burning, while drawing blood from themselves at the very moment of his appearance. Similarly Sahagun relates that in the court of the great temple at Mexico was found a tall thick column which stood under a straw roof, and was called *Ilhacitlan*, 'on Heaven,' and on which was painted the image of the Morning Star, and at the time when the planet again rose in the sky, prisoners of war were sacrificed before this column. When, therefore, in the twenty pictures which are to be explained in what follows, and which by the accompanying day-counts reveal themselves as illustrations of

<sup>1</sup> Fr. Jerónimo Banson y Zamora. *Explicación de las Indias, Idolatrías y Gobierno en el México y Perú* (1575), book I. chap. xv.

consecutive Venus periods, when in these pictures human sacrifice is always exhibited to the spectator in fourfold variations, the simplest explanation will be that by the human sacrifice it was intended to exhibit the entrance of the new period, the time when the planet for the first time again becomes visible as the Morning Star.

Since, both according to the day-counts accompanying the pictures, and according to the scene in which the persons are represented, the twenty pictures separate themselves into four groups of five figures each, it is *a priori* probable that the first, second, third, fourth, and fifth members of these four rows are inter-related, that in fact the first, second, third, fourth, and fifth members of these four rows represent the five Venus periods, are here placed as images or guardians of these five periods. And such in fact is the case. Therewith a relation to the regions of the heavens is undoubtedly presented. *The five disposed according to the five quarters of the world, the Quineunx, have*



Fig. 399. Hieroglyph of the Planet Venus.  
Dresden Maya Manuscript 46-50.



Fig. 400. Hieroglyph of the Planet Venus.  
On Celestial Shields in the Dresden Manuscript.



Fig. 401.  
Hieroglyph of the Planet Venus.  
Osaka, Altar II.



Fig. 402. The Face of the Deity of the Planet Venus in her Impersonation of the Evening Star.  
After Codex Borjia 19 (= Kingsborough 80), but drawn full face.

become the hieroglyph of this very planet Venus (cf. Figs. 399-401); and the five disposed according to the five quarters, the Quineunx, are likewise worn by the deity of the planet Venus in her impersonation of the Evening Star, when the Quineunx takes the form of five circular spots painted a white colour, and standing sharply out on the dark surface of her countenance (Fig. 402). The sequence which we have to assume for the five regions of the world in this Quineunx, and in the first, second, third, fourth, and fifth members of the four rows at present occupying us, is doubtless the same as that presented on Sheet I of Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (cf. Fig. 265 *supra*, p. 77), and with the nine Lords of Night. That is to say, we shall have to begin with the Middle and continue by the East, North, West, and South.

The first members of the four rows, the four guardians of the first Venus period, would, on my assumption, correspond to the fifth quarter of the world, *i.e.* to the Centre, the direction from above downwards.

The first member of the first row stands in our manuscript in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 33, in *Fejérvári* in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 23, in Codex Borgia in the right division of the lowest row of Sheet 15.—In Codex Borgia and in our manuscript *Cintéotl*, the Maize God, is depicted in his characteristic form, with the yellow body and face painting, the black angularly bent longitudinal stripe on his face, and the maize-ears and maize-bloom in his hair, exactly as we met him as fourth of the nine lords (cf. Fig. 291 *supra*, p. 97, and the figure in the right division of the lower half of Sheet 20 of our manuscript). As a



Fig. 403. *Cintéotl*, the Maize God.  
First of the Four Guardians  
of the First Venus Period.  
Codex *Fejérvári*-Mayer 23  
(= Kingsborough 23).

special symbol, beside these figures is pictured a *tepozotl*, a flower issuing from a stone knife.—In Codex *Fejérvári* (Fig. 403) the same maize deity is obviously meant to be exhibited. For on the head which this god holds in his hand while gouging its eye out, and which as well as the little figures of the second row is thought of as the effigy of the respective deity, on this head we see the blue little tongue, the breath, which ascends from the mouth ending in a *maize-ear*. In this manuscript, however, *Cintéotl*, the Maize God, and *Xochipilli*, the Flower God, who, as we shall see, forms the first member of the second row, are so closely connected that here in Codex *Fejérvári* the first member of the first and that of the second row have exchanged their face-painting, the angularly bent black longitudinal stripe which the first member of the first row (Fig. 403) should have, being given to *Xochipilli* the first member of the second row.

The first member of the second row stands in our manuscript in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 35, in Codex *Fejérvári* in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 24, in Codex Borgia in the left division of the lowest row of Sheet 16.—In Codex Borgia, as second of the four guardians of the first Venus period, here is pictured *Xochiquetzal*, the Goddess of Flowers, of Love, and of Female Artistic Skill (Fig. 404), her face painted yellow with pattern in a red colour, the blue stop-plate (*yoconpatolotl*) below the nose, and the two feather-tufts (*ome quetzalli*) on her head. She is not quite so richly garbed as the form which we met as ruler and emblem of the twentieth day-count (cf. Fig. 395 *supra*, p. 188), and is also without the quetzal-bird helmet-mask, her hair being here merely bound up with the usual head-strap with the conventional bird's head on the frontal side. Before her mouth (or properly on her hand, as required by the exigencies of space) is figured a jewelled chain ending in a flower, which, if we like, may be read *noctil noctill*. In our manuscript (Fig. 405) and in Codex *Fejérvári* (Fig. 406), instead of this female deity her male counterpart, *Xochipilli*, God of Flowers, has been depicted, as with the twentieth day-count; but, as I have already above stated, he is in Codex *Fejérvári* by mistake furnished with the painting of the Maize God. The god of our manuscript (Fig. 405) is, like the ruler of the eleventh day-count, painted a blue colour. But, moreover, on the limbs are shown yellow longitudinal stripes, and on the face a black longitudinal stripe, which somewhat recalls the red longitudinal stripe of the *Xipe* face. The corresponding sheet of the manuscript has suffered a little from abrasion. Nevertheless it still seems clear enough that instead of the conventional bird's head on the frontal side of the fillet a pierced golden disk is figured, and that instead of the presumable *patzneli*, i.e. crest-shaped nape adornment of white feathers of the typical *Xochipilli* figures, this figure bears a shorter *teomilli*-like ornament, but still in its essential part consisting of white feathers. Before its mouth the figure shows a chain of beads ending in a flower, as with the *Xochiquetzal* of Codex Borgia. The ends of the loin-cloth are covered with yellow longitudinal stripes, like the body and the hip-cloth of the god, and moreover one end is drawn with a black St. Andrew's Cross (the sign of the four quarters of the compass), the other with a spot edged round with a circle of dots, perhaps a symbol of the Middle or of the fifth quarter of the world. Without doubt this represents a special form of *Xochipilli*, God of Flowers, a form which perhaps should have another

special name. The Codex Fejérváry figure (Fig. 406) holds in its hand a sacrificial knife, a bone dagger, and a long-stalked flower, which without doubt is again a symbol of blood. The same three objects are seen with the *Xochiquetzal* of Codex Borgia (Fig. 404), and with the god of our manuscript (Fig. 405) inserted in a coil of rope, which is full of water and stands before the feet of the figure.

The first member of the third row stands in our manuscript in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 38, in Codex Fejérváry in the central division of the upper half of Sheet 26, in Codex Borgia in the central division of the central row of Sheet 15.—In Codex Borgia (Fig. 407) is figured the real *Xochipilli*,

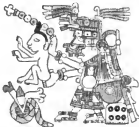


Fig. 404. *Xochiquetzal*, Flower Goddess.  
Codex Borgia 16 (= Kingsborough 23).  
Second of the Four Guardians of the First Venus Period.



Fig. 405. *Xochipilli*, Flower God.  
Codex Vaticanus B 25 (= Kingsborough 83).



Fig. 406. *Xochipilli*, Flower God (with the Face-painting of the Maize God).  
Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 24  
(= Kingsborough 21).

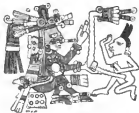


Fig. 407. *Xochipilli*, Flower God,  
Third of the Four Guardians of the First Venus Period.  
Codex Borgia 15 (= Kingsborough 24).



Fig. 408. *Xochipilli*, Flower God.  
Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 26  
(= Kingsborough 19).

the god with the white butterfly about his mouth, the god of *Tecitlan del Camino*, exactly as we have met him as ruler of the eleventh day-count *ayauiltli*, 'Ape' (cf. Fig. 360 *supra*, p. 159). In our manuscript (Sheet 38, left upper half) obviously the like deity is exhibited. Here body and face are painted a yellow colour. In the contour an irregularly waved red line is all that survives of what in Codex Borgia is carefully and distinctly drawn as a white butterfly. The Codex Fejérváry figure also (Fig. 408) undoubtedly presents the same deity. Here the white butterfly about the mouth is degraded to a disk which shows strokes at the edge, but stands out in a white colour from the rest of the yellow-painted face.

The first member of the fourth, the female, row, stands in our manuscript in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 40, in Codex Fejérváry in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 28, in Codex Borgia in the right division of the uppermost row of Sheet 16.—This is the *Mayamal*, Goddess of the Agave

Plant, whom we have already met as ruler of the eighth day-count, *tochtli*, 'Rabbit' (cf. *supra*, p. 152). In Fejérvári she is depicted before or in her agave plant, in a white yellow-striped tippet (*quechquemiltl*) which, like that of the Water Goddess, has a border painted in the colours of the jewel (*chaltchiciltl*), and is clothed in a blue enagua and with a wreath of flowers in her hair. In Codex Borgia (Fig. 409) the goddess has in general the aspect of *Tloquecōatl*; like her she has her hair bound up with a band of unspun cotton (*ichouacōchiltl*), a plug of like material hanging out of her ear, is in the same way painted about her mouth with black rubber, and wears the golden nasal crescent, *yucumatzilli*. But her face is white, and the tippet-like collar (*quechquemiltl*) and the enagua (*cueiltl*) are painted in the colours and lines of water, and beamed round with white disk-shaped snail-shells. Three such shells are likewise seen on the surface of the enagua. And whereas the other goddesses, and even the *Mayauel* of Codex Fejérvári, have a child at the breast, this *Mayauel* of Codex Borgia is suckling a fish. Lastly, in our manuscript (Fig. 410) instead of the goddess we have only the agave plant (*meltl*), drawn with leaves and double spike of bloom shooting up. But the interior of the plant forms a kind of cave, the mouth of which has the form of the crescent-shaped golden nasal ornament *yucumatzilli* of *Tloquecōatl* and the Pulque Gods, is set on the outside



Fig. 409. *Mayauel*, Goddess of the Agave Plant.  
Codex Borgia 16 (= Kingsborough 23).  
The Fourth of the Four Guardians of the First Venus Period.



Fig. 410. *meltl*, the Agave Plant.  
Codex Vaticanus B 40 (= Kingsborough 66).

with pendants of jewels and gold ornaments, and inside is full of a liquid. From the roof of the cave hangs a kind of peg at which a fish is sucking. We know that in the hole cut out of the heart of the agave plant is collected the clear sweet sap which is drawn off by means of a suction-tube (a longish gourd), and after fermentation yields the pulque.

Taken together, these four guardians of the first Venus period seem intended to illustrate the *fertile fruit-yielding Earth*.

On my assumption the second members of the four rows, or the four guardians of the second Venus period, should represent the *East*.

The second member of the first row stands in our manuscript in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 33, in Codex Fejérvári in the central division of Sheet 23, in Codex Borgia in the central division of the lowest row of Sheet 15. It is a god who seems to be rarely found in this group of manuscripts, and not at all in the Mexican manuscripts proper. In all three manuscripts (cf. Figs. 411-413) he is portrayed as an *old god* with a long beard enframing the chin. The body is doubtless meant to be painted green or yellow all over, but in Codex Borgia the face, like that of the Pulque Gods, is painted red on the anterior half, that is, the middle of the face, on the posterior, that is, at the sides of the face, green, like the rest of the body. In our manuscript the face is green-yellow on the anterior half, on the posterior dark blue, which is doubtless meant to be taken as black. His special distinction is a helmet-mask



which in Codex Borgia (Fig. 411) is clearly drawn as *esipactli*, but in the two other manuscripts (Figs. 412 and 413) rather resembles the feather-snake as it is designed in those manuscripts. At least the two jewelled things, which both in the picture of our manuscript (Fig. 412) and in that of Codex Fejérváry (Fig. 413) are seen projecting upwards on the nostrils of the reptile forming the helmet-mask, are met in exactly the same style with the feather-snake figured with *Xipe* (cf. Sheet 39, lower left half, and Sheet 62), as well as with the feather-snake shown fronting the eagle on Sheet 27 of our manuscript. In my elucidations of Codex Fejérváry-Mayer I have endeavoured to point out parallels for this in the Vienna manuscript, but am now rather inclined to look on this figure merely as a local conception of *Quetzalcoatl*, perhaps as the very *Quetzalcoatl* of Tollan, or as the *Quetzalcoatl* of the *tonatiuh ixco yucue*, of the tribes that went outwards, as the local god, say, of the districts on the Gulf Coast or of *Coahuacalco*. Both in Codex Borgia and in our manuscript, as a special symbol with him is given a rubber ball with a single quetzal feather fastened on it, hence a burnt-offering.

The second member of the second row stands in our manuscript in the left division of the lower half of Sheet 36, in Fejérváry in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 25, in Codex Borgia in the left division of the central row of Sheet 15.—The Rain God *Tlaloc* is drawn with his characteristic distinctions,



Fig. 411. God of the East.  
Codex Borgia 15 (= Kingsborough 42).



Fig. 412. God of the East.  
Codex Vaticanus B 33 (= Kingsborough 81).  
The First of the Four Guardians of the Second Venus Period.



Fig. 413. God of the East.  
Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 22  
(= Kingsborough 22).

as they have been fully described above, pp. 108, 109, with the ninth of the nine Lords of the Night Hours. Specially interesting is the picture in Codex Borgia, as here we see the head adornment figured with special care—the heron-feather crown (*astatzonilli*) and the rosettes similar to those which we already met with the picture at Fig. 307 (*suym*, p. 110), but are here clearly depicted as four, and without doubt correspond to the four quarters where the god is housed. Here, too, it is more distinctly seen at Fig. 414 that on his head the god wears the ring (or else the trapezoid) and the ray, the elements of the solar picture, as Lord of the Four Years and of the four *Tonotemalli* divisions, whose initial days are in the Zapotec calendar called by the very name of *coeje*, that is, 'Rain God,' *Tlaloc*. Lastly, at Fig. 414 the god is seen, bearing on his breast, as an ornament, the two-headed *hluo* cloud or water-snake, in form and colour perfectly like the two-headed snake which forms the nasal adornment of the Water Goddess *Chalchikihue*.

The second member of the third row stands in our manuscript in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 38, in Codex Fejérváry in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 26, in Codex Borgia in the right division of the central cross row of Sheet 15.—Everywhere is portrayed the Sun God, recognisable by his red body and face painting, and flame-coloured hair, which is bound up by a jewelled chain, or by a jewel-studded strap with a conventional hind figure on the frontal side. In Codex Borgia (Fig. 415) he further wears the bunch of eagle feathers (*guauhtemalli*) on his head, and at his nape a solar disk. Different from the other members of this row is here the figure which is depicted lying on a sacrificial

stone with the jewel or the flower, that is, the heart, being drawn out of its body. Thus it is at least in the picture of our manuscript (Fig. 416). But in the Codex Borgia picture also (Fig. 415) a black sacrificial stone (*techtatl*) is at least shown beside the figure out of whose body the Sun God is drawing the heart.



Fig. 414. Tlaloc, the Rain God.  
Codex Borgia 16 (= Kingsborough 23).  
Second of the Four Guardians of the Second Venus Period.

manuscript the goddess is exhibited with straddling legs. This is doubtless thought of in the same way as with the Earth Goddess of Codex Borbonicus (cf. Fig. 51 *supra*, p. 24), i.e. as the attitude of delivery, which the mouth open as if to cry out would also point at. The goddess, as we shall see more plainly below, is for the Mexicans the great Parturient, the mother of the gods (*Tetel imanen*). But the broom,



Fig. 415. Tetzahuc, the Sun God.  
Codex Borgia 15 (= Kingsborough 24).  
Third of the Four Guardians of the Second Venus Period.



Fig. 416. Tonatzin, the Sun God.  
Codex Vaticanus B 38 (= Kingsborough 86).  
Fourth of the Four Guardians of the Second Venus Period.

above or on which the goddess is seated, is doubtless meant merely to represent a seat. Before the Codex Borgia figure is given a nasal crescent in a dark field, the sign of the Moon, but from it here there flows down a stream of blood. The strange symbol in our manuscript (Fig. 415), a ring filled in with a red colour and with a flower growing out of it, is in all probability intended to denote blood. Beside the ring is further seen a red and white coloured string, and beside the flower is shown a dart.

The old *Quezalcóatl* of Tula, the Sun God, and Tlaloc may all three be taken as indicative of the East. For Tlaloc, too, the realm of the Rain God lies in the East. And it is the rainy Atlantic seaboard that in the ethnographic chapters of the Sahagún book is denoted by this very name. *Tlalocayotl*, the

one coming from the Rain-land, was for the Mexicans the trade-wind, the east wind. When now with these three *Tloqueatl* is here further associated, the determining circumstance may have been that this goddess, too, had her home, or was thought to have her home, in the Gulf coastlands.

The third member of the four rows of the four guardians of the third Venus period should, on my assumption, denote the North. Accordingly we really find the Death God or related forms exhibited as third member. For the North was the *mictlampa*, the region of Hades. There also was the realm of *Mictlantecutli*.

The third member of the first row stands in our manuscript in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 34, in Codex Fejérváry in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 23, in Codex Borgia in the left division of the lowest row of Sheet 15. In all three manuscripts it is a skeleton, or at least a figure which has a dead man's skull for its head, and is equipped in the usual way with death symbols—at the nape the paper rosette (*cuaxochtechimalli*) provided with red and white cross bands; the paper flag painted in the same way, broken in the middle and inclined forward (*pantayaualli*); the *molinalli*-grass jacket, and the our-plug consisting of a human hand or of *molinalli* grass or of a



Fig. 417. *Tloqueatl*, the Earth Goddess.  
Codex Borgia 10 (= Kingsborough 23).

The Fourth of the Four Guardians of the Second Venus Period.



Fig. 418. *Tloqueatl*, the Earth Goddess.  
Codex Vaticanus B 41 (= Kingsborough 89).

skirt of unspun cotton. In Codex Borgia and in our manuscript is given as a special symbol a bunch of *molinalli* grass, which may have been intended to indicate withered grass (*i.e.* pining away), or perhaps also medicinal herbs, *i.e.* implicitly death.

The third member of the second row stands in our manuscript in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 36, in Codex Fejérváry in the central division of the upper half of Sheet 25, in Codex Borgia in the central row of Sheet 16.—In Codex Borgia is again figured a skeleton exactly like that of the first row. But in our manuscript is seen a figure painted in a yellow body and face colour and clothed in a short gown of *molinalli* grass and a loin-cloth painted with cross bands in the colour of the Rain God, white and rubber-besprinkled green. But it is otherwise equipped with death symbols, the nape-disk *cuaxochtechimalli*, a girdle of blood and eye-studded ankle and wrist bands; and for a head it wears a kind of animal head (a dog's?), with which, however, the lower part of the face is depicted skeleton-wise with exposed teeth and fleshless lower jaw, the head covered with the dark eye-studded tumbled hair of the Death God. In Codex Fejérváry (Fig. 419), besides the exposed teeth and fleshless lower jaw, no other death symbols are given. The anterior part of the face in profile is painted black, the posterior yellow (or green), and the hair is bound up with a red-white strap or fillet, which shows an ape's head on the frontal side. In the two last distinctive marks this figure agrees with the *Pulque God* as he is depicted in this manuscript, for instance on Sheet 14 (= Kingsborough 25), and with the god *Pâtecatl*,

whom we have met (cf. Fig. 377a *supra*, p. 169) as ruler of the twelfth day-count. I think, in fact, that here instead of the Death God the Pulque God has been figured, or else a Pulque god as the Death God. For the Pulque God is in truth called *teatlaxiani*, 'the Drowner,' *tequehmeaxiani*, 'the Throtter.' In his first book Sahagun says of him—*tepepxicuiya, tequehmeaxia, teatlaxia, temietia*—that is, that he hurls the people from the rocks, throttles them, drowns them in the water, slays them as offerings. Indeed we above saw, when considering the little pictures which accompany the *Tonalnamtl* disposed in columns of five members, that the pulque and the Goddess of the Agave Plant are there exhibited in the second *Tonalnamtl* quarter, that is, in the region of the North (cf. Figs. 134, 136, 137 *supra*, p. 41). And a like significance is perhaps to be ascribed to the pictures of throttling which are figured in this *Tonalnamtl* division. Hence to pulque and the Pulque Gods I would likewise refer the symbol which is given in Codex Borgia with the Death God, third member of the second row, where he is figured simply as a skeleton, which symbol shows us an eye-studded field divided into a black and a red half, and with which in our manuscript a similar symbol corresponds, though it has a flower on its head. For we know that parting into the two colours red and black was a distinctive mark and badge of the Pulque



Fig. 419. The Pulque God as Death God.  
Codex Fejérváry, Mayer 23 (= Kingsborough 20).  
Second of the Four Guardians of the  
Third Venus Period.

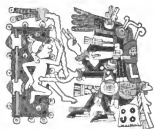


Fig. 420. *Tezcatlipoca-izpansitli*, the Blindfold God,  
God of Avenging Justice,  
Third of the Four Guardians of the Third Venus Period.  
Codex Borgia 15 (= Kingsborough 24).

God. In Codex Fejérváry instead of this we see a heart (*yollotli*) pierced by an agave *apiko* (*nititli*), a symbol which in any case has relation to the nature of pulque.

The third member of the third row stands in our manuscript in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 39, in Codex Fejérváry in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 27, in Codex Borgia in the right division of the uppermost row of Sheet 15.—In all three manuscripts at this place is drawn an *izpansitli*, a figure with *benchogel* eyes. And in all three manuscripts the whole of the other half of the compartment fronting the figure is occupied with an eye-studded field painted in the colour of night, that is, dark. In Codex Borgia the blindfold figure is pictured as *Tezcatlipoca* (Fig. 420), exactly like the figure which we have met as ruler of the thirteenth day-count, *acatl*, 'Roed,' and as God of Avenging Justice (cf. Fig. 378 *supra*, p. 170).—In Codex Fejérváry he is further exhibited with the forked heron-feather tuft (*actaxelli*) in his hair, and with the eye on his breast, which represents the *anauatl*, *Tezcatlipoca*'s white ring, enfolded above with red leather, or else his original form. But the body is not painted black, nor the face in black and yellow cross bands, as with the real *Tezcatlipoca*, but the body is painted blue, and the face in blue and (probably) yellow cross bands. Yet in this manuscript we find the same discrepancy in the coloration with the *Tezcatlipoca*, who represents the second of the four quarters, the region of the North, on the sheets devoted to illustrating the correction in the duration

of the year.<sup>1</sup> In conclusion, the same colour variation is presented with the figure of *Uitzilipochtli*, who is undoubtedly related to the god *Tezcatlipoca*. In our manuscript the third member of the third row is conceived somewhat differently. Certainly here, too, the *atazatl*, the forked heron-feather tuft in the hair, points unmistakably to *Tezcatlipoca*, but the body and the hair are yellow. On his face he shows two black bands running from above downwards, one broad, the other narrow, these being characteristic for the blindfold god *Itztlacduhqui*, for the bent obsidian knife, the God of Stone, of Cold, and of Avenging Justice, whom we shall have again specially to discuss below with the twelfth *Tonalamatl* division. In this twelfth *Tonalamatl* division this god is shown confronting *Tezcatlipoca*, who like him is equally an emblem of avenging justice. The figure in Codex Fejérváry has an axe in its hand, while in ours this object is given in the dark field before the god. In Codex Borgia instead of this on the dark field are seen two hearts spitted on a stake.

The third member of the fourth row stands in our manuscript in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 41, in Codex Fejérváry in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 28, in Codex Borgia in the left division of the uppermost row of Sheet 16.—The fourth is the female row. Hence in it is



Fig. 421. *Mictlacuauhtl*, Mistress of the Dwellers in Hades. Fourth of the Four Guardians of the Third Venus Period. Codex Borgia 16 (= Kingsborough 22).



Fig. 422. *Mictlacuauhtl*, Mistress of the Dwellers in Hades. Fourth of the Four Guardians of the Third Venus Period, and *Cinteotl*, the Earth Goddess. Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773) 41 (= Kingsborough 90).

portrayed, not the king of the realm of the dead, but his wife, *Mictlacuauhtl*, 'Mistress of the Dwellers in Hades.' In Codex Fejérváry we see a woman enveloped in the *quetzheguauhtl* and the *enagus*, but who, like the *Cinteotl*, whose acquaintance we shall make farther on, is dressed half as a man, wearing besides the other things a loin-cloth. She has a skull for her head, and while the other women of this row have a child at the breast this Death Goddess is devouring her own child. In Codex Borgia the Death Goddess is depicted with upper parts of the body undraped. Only about her hips is thrown an *enagus*, which is painted with dead men's bones, and has a border with the coloured design of the blood-snake. She, too, has no child at the breast, but facing her is pictured a figure of the male Death God of equal size, with whom she is connected by a stream of blood passing from mouth to mouth, a representation which we have elsewhere met as a symbol of sexual union. In our manuscript (Fig. 422) we see a kind of roof ending on both sides in a tree, where, however, the stems are filled with the design consisting of strokes and dots which we found on the tree of the North (our manuscript, Sheet 17), and on the limbs of the Death God, the fifth of the nine Lords of Night (our manuscript, Sheet 21, lower half). This roof, which has a figure in the middle like a navel, may doubtless be designated as *Xochitlalli*, 'Flower House,' and House of the Earth Goddess. Beneath it are seen two figures, but this time two female ones. One is the Death Goddess *Mictlacuauhtl*. The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my stabilization of Codex Fejérváry-Mayr, Berlin and London, 1901-1902, p. 175.

other, who consequently here represents the child held by the other members of this female row at the breast, is a woman drawn with a red angular line on the face which looks out from the open throat of a snake, hence she is a kind of *Ciuacoatl*. We shall meet her below as a representative of *Yoehiquetzal*. She is drawing out of the Death Goddess's mouth a yellow strip with wavy edging and ending in an eye,<sup>1</sup> which recalls the *cuitaltl* (ordure, filth), and therefore here stands for the nourishment which the other members of this row tender with their breasts.

The fourth members of the four rows, the four guardians of the fourth Venus period, must now, on my assumption, indicate the West.

The fourth member of the first row stands in our manuscript in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 34, in Codex Fejérváry in the right division of Sheet 24, in Codex Borgia in the right division of the lowest row of Sheet 16.—It is the Wind God, *Quetzalcoatl*, who in our manuscript and

in Codex Borgia (Fig. 423) is seen portrayed in the typical style, and with all the above-described distinctive articles of dress (pp. 138-140), in our manuscript, for instance, exactly like the sky-bearer *Quetzalcoatl*, whom we met on Sheet 21 of our manuscript. But in Codex Fejérváry the body and limbs of the Wind God, which elsewhere are always black, are, strange to say, painted red. Nor does this *Quetzalcoatl* of Codex Fejérváry wear the familiar *ocailcatzcozcatl*, the 'spirally voluted Wind-jewel' on his breast, but the eye, the white ring (*anauatl*) of the god *Tzacatlipoca*. In Codex Borgia and in our manuscript the mortification, of which *Quetzalcoatl* was the inventor,



Fig. 423. *Quetzalcoatl*, the Wind God.  
Codex Borgia 16 (= Kingsborough 23).  
First of the Four Guardians of the Fourth Venus Period.

is illustrated beside this god by a coil formed with a fasting-string and filled with water, representing the *chok-hishatl*, the blood, and by the bone dagger (*omiltl*), the sacrificial knife (*tecpatl*), and the agave-leaf spike (*nititli*), all stuck in the coil.

The fourth member of the second row stands in our manuscript in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 37, in Codex Fejérváry in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 25, in Codex Borgia in the right division of the central cross row of Sheet 16.—It is the same god that we above met as first of the four sky-bearers, who has painted on his face the quincunx, the hieroglyph of the planet Venus—the god that I have shown<sup>2</sup> to be merely another form of *Tlanizcalpantecutli*, the deity of the Morning Star—that he represents the planet Venus as the *Evening Star*. In Codex Borgia (Fig. 424) he is pictured with the same characteristic head-dress as the god designated by the interpreters as *Tlanizcalpantecutli*, who in Codex Telleriano-Remensis is figured in the ninth *Tonalamatl* division opposite the Fire God. But while the *Tlanizcalpantecutli* of Telleriano-Remensis wears about his eye the so-called stellar face-painting (*micritlanitlac moteneu tlayoalli*)—black half-mask-like, and edged round with white disks—the god who here appears in his form as Evening Star (Fig. 424) is painted with the hieroglyph itself of the planet Venus, the quincunx of white disks on a dark ground (cf. also Fig. 402 *supra*, p. 193). But the identity of the two figures, of our Fig. 424 (the Evening Star) and of the figure of Codex Telleriano-Remensis (the Morning Star), is established by the fact that the effigy which this god of Codex Borgia (Fig. 424) presents, has the

<sup>1</sup> In Fig. 422 the artist forgot to mark this eye at the end of the wavy-edged yellow strip.

<sup>2</sup> 'Die Venusperiode in den Bilderschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe.' *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xix (1896), pp. 359 and 360; sq. 1. *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde*. Berlin (A. Asher & Co.) 1892, vol. 1, pp. 637 and 641 sq.

colour and face-painting of the deity of the Morning Star, of the *Tauiscolpantecuilli* of Codex Telleriano-Remensis.—In our manuscript the corresponding figure (Fig. 425) is not drawn quite so well, nor quite so characteristically. Still there will be no difficulty in recognising the white (red-striped) colour of the body, the three locks flaming up above the brow, and the dark face-colour with the white-spotted quincunx. Only here, just as we shall see with the figure of the Codex Fejérváry, the quincunx is given in full on one side (on the profile) of the face. Thereby the spot on the nose, which properly represents the central spot of the one quincunx which should be completely shown only in the full-face view, has been retained, or rather here, too, forms the central spot of the quincunx, although thus displaced eccentrically.—The Codex Fejérváry figure (Fig. 426) deviates somewhat, the face being here painted, not dark as in the other manuscripts, but white (with yellow stripes) like the rest of the body and limbs. But that this figure is to be classed with those of the two other manuscripts is placed beyond all doubt by the quincunx of white spots disposed in the same peculiar way as on the figure of our manuscript, by the three lambent locks on the brow, and by the large stellar eye worn by this god on his breast.



Fig. 424. Deity of the Planet Venus  
(Evening Star).  
Codex Borgia 16 (= Kingsborough 23).



Fig. 425. Deity of the Planet Venus  
(Evening Star).  
Codex Vaticanus B 37  
(= Kingsborough 83).



Fig. 426. Deity of the Planet Venus  
(Evening Star).  
Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 25  
(= Kingsborough 39).

Second of the Four Guardians of the Fourth Venus Period.

As a special symbol, in Codex Borgia (Fig. 424) are shown a sacrificial cord and two little paper flags. In Codex Fejérváry (Fig. 426) we see a shield with feather appendage and one little paper flag, which is doubtless likewise meant as an equipment for the *Sacrificio gladiatorio*. The object given beside the figure of our manuscript (Fig. 425) seems to correspond with the symbol which was above met (cf. Fig. 418, p. 199) with *Tlaçolteotl*, and presumably denotes blood. The bent paper flag beside it is the familiar decoration of the dead.—These symbols given beside the deity of the planet Venus are in all cases to be referred to the sacrificial death, to the *Sacrificio gladiatorio*. For the deity of the planet Venus, who in the ninth *Tonalamati* division is placed opposite the Fire God, representative of war, was for the Mexicans an indication of the warrior's death, that is, of sacrificial death.

The fourth member of the third row stands in our manuscript in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 39, in Codex Fejérváry in the central division of the upper half of Sheet 27, in Codex Borgia in the central division of the uppermost row of Sheet 15.—Here it is *Xipe Totec*, 'our Lord the Flayed,' who is represented, and indeed everywhere in a somewhat typical manner. The Codex Borgia figure (Fig. 427), especially with its downy feather-wig, with the two forelocks curling up from this wig and imitating in a measure the hair of the deity of the planet Venus, resembles the *Xipe* figure which we have met as first of the Lords of Earth (cf. Fig. 276 *supra*, p. 84). In our place, however, the god has a different breast ornament—instead of the quail a large snail's shell which hangs at a

chain of flowers inserted one in another. The figure in our manuscript and that of Codex Fejérváry (Fig. 428) wear a crown of the feathers of the red spoonbill (*flaskuekaltzontli*), from which project rods disposed ray-fashion. In our manuscript on the frontal side of this crown is attached a quail (*rotin*), the bird of *Xipe* and of the Earth Goddesses (cf. *supra*, pp. 85, 172), and in fact in the same attitude—as it were flying down—as we see a cotinga bird (*sinktototl*) attached to the feather crown or to the frontal fillet of the Fire God.

The fourth member of the fourth of the female row stands in our manuscript in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 42, in Codex Fejérváry in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 29, in

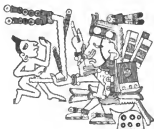


Fig. 427. *Xipe Totec*, Our Lord the Flyed, Codex Borgia 16 (= Kingsborough 24).  
Third of the Four Guardians of the Fourth Venus Period.



Fig. 428. *Xipe Totec*. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 27 (= Kingsborough 16).  
Third of the Four Guardians of the Fourth Venus Period.



Fig. 429. *Chalchikuhliuic*, the Water Goddess. Codex Borgia 17 (= Kingsborough 22).  
Fourth of the Four Guardians of the Fourth Venus Period.



Fig. 430. *Chalchikuhliuic*, the Water Goddess. Codex Vaticanus B 42 (= Kingsborough 90).  
Fourth of the Four Guardians of the Fourth Venus Period.



Fig. 431. *Chalchikuhliuic*, the Water Goddess. Codex Fejérváry Mayer 29 (= Kingsborough 16).  
Fourth of the Four Guardians of the Fourth Venus Period.

Codex Borgia in the right division of the upper row of Sheet 17.—It is the Water Goddess, *Chalchikuhliuic*, which in Codex Borgia (Fig. 429) is designed and painted in exactly the same way as we have met her as sixth of the nine Lords of the Night (Fig. 292 *supra*, p. 89), and as image of the fifth day-count (cf. *supra*, p. 148).—The figure in our manuscript (Fig. 430) deviates somewhat, as here we see inserted in her hair the two feather bunches (*ome quetzotli*) which are properly the badge of *Xochiquetzotl*. Still the Water Goddess seems to be pointed at by the border of her tippet (*quechquemiltl*) painted in the colours of the jewel (*chalchihuitl*), and by the jewelled disks on the border of her enagua. On the band of her hair this figure wears a large flower.—Still less characteristic is the Codex Fejérváry figure (Fig. 431), though we are struck by the fillet, which consists of the hieroglyph *chalchihuitl* (green jewel, nephrite) and two flowers.



As symbol of the element, of which *Chalchihuitlicue* is the image and embodiment, we see beside the Codex Borgia figure (Fig. 429) a jewel (*chalchihuitl*), from within which a stream of water gushes forth. But here this stream of water is not set at the ends in the usual way with round or longish white snail-shells, but with yellow *cuitlatl*-like objects which, as we know, denote ordure, dirt, filth, and metaphorically 'sin.' This means that here this *chalchihuitl* or 'jewel-water' is again conceived, not as the moisture that fertilises the fields, but, like the 'jewel-water' shown with the *Chalchihuitotolin*, emblem of the eighteenth day-count, as the moisture that cleanses from the dirt of sin, that is, the blood of mortification. This metaphorical meaning continually presents itself more and more to the artists of these picture-writings. Accordingly in our manuscript (Fig. 430), beside the Water Goddess, we see depicted a ring of flowers from within which a flowering tree breaks out. The stem of this flowering tree is certainly painted the colour of the water, *i.e.* blue. But as in these manuscripts the flower is so often placed simply for blood, here, too, we shall have to think of the metaphorical significance of the *chalchihuitl*. And should we still feel inclined to doubt this view, all doubts will be dispelled by the Codex Fejérváry picture (Fig. 431). For here beside the flowering tree growing up from the jewelled bowl we see realistically reproduced the blood itself, with a heart figured in it.

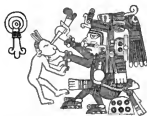


Fig. 432. *Xochipilli*, the Flower God as Sun God.  
Codex Borgia 16 (= Kingsborough 23).  
First of the Four Guardians of the Fourth Venus Period.



Fig. 433. *Tecuacuil*, the Moon God.  
Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 24  
(= Kingsborough 21).

The deity of the Evening Star, and *Xipe*, the Earth God, and *Chalchihuitlicue*, the Water Goddess, are all alike equally significant for the quarter of the West. And if in his place we met *Quetzalcoatl* as sky-bearer of the East (cf. Fig. 281 *supra*, p. 88), for this very god, who indeed is in a certain way identified with the planet Venus, we must assume a twofold nature, a relation to the two quarters of the East and of the West. On a later Sheet, 72 (= Kingsborough 43), of Codex Borgia, which corresponds to Sheet 73 (= Kingsborough 24) of our manuscript, we shall in fact again meet with *Quetzalcoatl* as representative of the West.

Lastly, the fifth member of the four rows, or the four guardians of the fifth Venus period, must, on my assumption, correspond to the last quarter, the *South*.

The fifth member of the first row stands in our manuscript in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 35, in Codex Fejérváry in the central division of the upper half of Sheet 24, in Codex Borgia in the central division of the lowest row of Sheet 16.—In Codex Borgia (Fig. 432) here we again see the god *Xochipilli*, the god with the white butterfly design about his mouth, reproduced in quite the typical way, as we have already met him in this division as first member of the third row (Fig. 407 *supra*, p. 195), and previously as emblem of the eleventh day-count (Fig. 360 *supra*, p. 159). Only here the posterior corner of the eye is encircled by two parallel narrow lines, such as we have before met (cf. Fig. 290 *supra*, p. 97) on the face of the Sun God. We shall accordingly be able to designate

this figure *Xochipilli as Sun God*.—Now, from this Codex Borgia figure, the fifth member of the first row in our manuscript (Sheet 35, left above) deviates in a very remarkable way. The figure here depicted is decidedly similar to the *Xochipilli* figures of our manuscript, especially to the blue *Xochipilli* (Fig. 405 *supra*, p. 195), the first member of the second row of the division. But, instead of the erot-like (*putzactli*-like) nape ornament consisting of white feathers, here we see a similarly shaped ornament of black nocturnal feathers studded with eyes or intermingled with eyes, while the eyes of the figure is closed, as is also the eye of the head which this god holds in his hand, gouging out its eye with a sharp-pointed bone. The explanation is given by the corresponding Codex Fejérváry picture, as this picture shows us (Fig. 433) an old bearded god, painted a blue colour, and wearing a snail's shell on his brow, that is, *Tweicitlantl*, the Moon God.

The symbol which we find given with the Codex Borgia figure (Fig. 432) and with the figure in our manuscript—a tree issuing from the dark core of a ring—we must doubtless again explain as sacrificial blood. For in the Codex Fejérváry picture we find this symbol actually represented by a bone dagger and blood and jewellery, *cozactl*, the expression of costliness.



Fig. 431. Manusatl, God of the Hunt.  
Codex Borgia 15 (= Kingsborough 24).



Fig. 432. Micozactl,  
God of the Chichimecs and of the Hunt.  
Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 5773), Sheet 37  
(= Kingsborough 85).



Fig. 433. Mircosatl, God of  
the Chichimecs and of the Hunt.  
Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 26  
(= Kingsborough 19).

Second of the Four Guardians of the Fifth Venus Period.

The fifth member of the second row stands in our manuscript in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 37, in Codex Fejérváry in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 26, in Codex Borgia in the left division of the central cross row of Sheet 15.—In Codex Borgia (Fig. 434) and in our manuscript (Fig. 435) we see a form which in almost every particular—especially the white (red-striped) body and face colour and the so-called stellar face-painting (*mixcitalhuicaco moteneus tlhoyoualli*)—black, half-musk-like, and edged round with white circles—as well as the lambent forelocks above the brow—agrees with the *Thauicactlantecatl* of Codex Telleriano-Romensis, the deity of the planet Venus as Morning Star. But it is adorned neither with his fillet nor with his feather crown, but has his hair plastered with downy feathers after the fashion of the warriors, and above it the forked heron-feather ornament (*astazelli*), the warrior's dancing head decoration. This is *Micozactl*, God of the Chichimecs and of the Hunt, whom we above met (Fig. 316 *supra*, p. 115, and Sheet 25 of our manuscript) as one of the forms of the deity of the planet Venus. It is thoroughly in accordance with his character as God of the Hunt and of War that with him we find figured as special symbols the implements of war—shield and bundle of spears (*mitl-chiualli*)—and beside them, in Codex Borgia a hand flag, in our manuscript a throwing-stick (*otlatl*). In our manuscript this god is represented, in the same way as the *Micozactl* of Sheet 25 of our manuscript, as God of the Wild Tribes with exposed penis, and with our figure (Fig. 435) the exposure is further specially emphasised

by the naked penis being tied round with a bow.—Now, from this well-characterised form the corresponding figure of Codex Fejérváry deviates in a remarkable way, and indeed in much the same way that the Codex Fejérváry figure (Fig. 315 *supra*, p. 115), corresponding to the *Mixcoatl* of Sheet 25 of our manuscript, deviated from the *Mixcoatl* of Sheet 25 of our manuscript and from the like Codex Borgia figure (Fig. 316 *supra*, p. 115). For here (Fig. 436) we see a form who is painted quite in the style of dress of middle-aged fops, that is, half blue half red, and is figured naked and with large penis, wearing in the pierced nasal septum a reed with a feather projecting on both sides, on his head the *copilli*, the Huastec cone-shaped cap, and on his breast the eye, the original form of the white ring *anamatl*, *Tzontliipocē's* breast ornament. But here is omitted *Tlauizotlāntecūtlī's* and *Mixcoatl's* black stellar face-painting, bordered by small white circles, which was shown in combination with the cap by the figure (Fig. 315 *supra*, p. 115) corresponding with the *Mixcoatl* of Sheet 25 of our manuscript. Nevertheless we cannot doubt but that this figure, too, offers a complete parallel to the *Mixcoatl* figures at Figs. 434 and 435, just as Fig. 315 is a parallel to the *Mixcoatl* of Fig. 316 and of Sheet 25 of our manuscript.



Fig. 437. *Macuil xochitl*, God of Revelry.  
Codex Borgia 15 (= Kingsborough 24).  
Third of the Four Guardians of  
the Fifth Venus Period.



Fig. 438. *tonatliā ūzo yuak*,  
the Soul of the Dead Warrior.  
Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773), Sheet 40  
(= Kingsborough 85).



Fig. 439. *tonatliā ūzo yuak*.  
Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 27  
(= Kingsborough 18).

The fifth member of the third row stands in our manuscript in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 40, in Codex Fejérváry in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 27, in Codex Borgia in the left division of the uppermost row of Sheet 15.

In Codex Borgia we see a form (Fig. 437) whose body and limbs, as well as the face, are painted a red colour, only a rectangular field about the eye is yellow, and in the neighbourhood of the mouth the design of a human hand painted in white stands out from the red of the rest of the face. This is the person who in a narrower sense takes the name of *Macuilxochitl*, 'five Flower,' the God of Revels and of Sport, also called *Aviatl* or *Aviateotl*, *Xochipilli's* companion, whom we found figured as god of the game of *patli* (dice) in the pictorial manuscript of the Florentine Biblioteca Nazionale (cf. Fig. 365 *supra*, p. 163). That this name *Macuilxochitl* is ascribed to the person at Fig. 437 is shown by a series of five figures which are represented in our manuscript on Plates 77-79, and which we shall have there to discuss. These have all the yellow field about the eyes and the design of the white hand about the mouth, only in the ground colour the face varies, and all are mentioned with the name of a day which combines the numeral 'Five' with a day-count that changes with the several figures. The design of the white hand, as I shall have more fully to demonstrate below, is presumably nothing more than an expression of this numeral five which enters into the name of these gods. In the Sahagun manuscript where this design of a white hand is to be seen on the picture of *Macuilxochitl*, although considerably reduced, this is described in the text with the expression

*motemecpukhuitcae*, 'they have made a hand for him.' In the specified place with the five gods are associated five goddesses, who from their whole aspect and array are to be identified as *Ciuateteo* or *Ciuoipiltin*, as the spectral women who dwell in the West, the souls of women who have died in childhood, the representatives of womanhood. These five goddesses are there mentioned each with a day which contains the numeral one in its name. They are in fact the days which in the *Tonalamatt* disposed in columns of five members denote the initial of the *third Tonalamatt quarter*. On the other hand, the days with which the specified five male deities, *Macuilzochilt* and his associates, are mentioned, form the *fifth days* of the *fourth Tonalamatt quarter* in the *Tonalamatt* disposed in columns of five members. If therefore the five *Ciuateteo* are assigned to the *West* through the names that they bear, so likewise *Macuilzochilt* and his associates become through their names the expression and the representatives of the quarter of the *South*. And on the assumption that I have made, that is just what we have to expect of a fifth member of our four rows, one of the guardians of the fifth Venus period.—Now as regards the array of this Codex Borgia *Macuilzochilt* (Fig. 437), like the *Xotoll* (Fig. 389 *supra*, p. 181). God of Monstrosities, ruler of the seventeenth day-count, who is provided with the very same facial painting, he wears as breast ornament a human lower jaw which, combined with the green band to which it is tied up, may possibly serve as an expression of the day-count *molinnalli*. As his head ornament one would expect to meet the *quetzalcozcoatl*-bird helmet-mask. For the remains of this *quetzalcozcoatl* helmet-mask, which is seen on the *Macuilzochilt* figure of the Sahagun manuscript (Fig. 367 *supra*, p. 163), and also on the *Xochipilli* of the painted clay figure from Teotitlan del camino (cf. Fig. 361 *supra*, p. 160), prove that *Macuilzochilt*, like *Xochipilli*, is properly meant to be shown looking out of the yawning throat of the feather-crested *quetzalcozcoatl* bird. The tall feather-crest in these pictures, in the Sahagun manuscript described as *quachickiquilli*, the large rosettes at the sides of the head, and the nape feather adornment in the Sahagun manuscript denoted as *uitoncahtl*, are to be understood merely as the remains of a helmet-mask formed from a bird with a high feather-crest. But it is remarkable that neither the real *Xochipilli* of Codex Borgia (Fig. 360 *supra*, p. 159; Fig. 407 *supra*, p. 195; Fig. 432 *supra*, p. 205) nor this *Macuilzochilt* (Fig. 437) have any such helmet-mask. Still the large rosette at the side of the head in our Fig. 437 may be compared with the rosettes of the *Macuilzochilt* of the Sahagun manuscript (Fig. 367 *supra*, p. 163), and with those of the stone effigies (Figs. 369-371 *supra*, pp. 164 and 166). So also the large nape feather ornament of our Fig. 437 may be likened to the wing *uitoncahtl*, which is worn by the figure of the Sahagun manuscript (Fig. 367 *supra*, p. 163), but from which the *tonallopemiltl*, the flag with the four beads, the *tonallo* emblem, projects. Perhaps in the *Macuilzochilt* (Fig. 437) the kind of cap with the vertically projecting bands painted in the colours of the green jewel (*chalekiuitl*) is also to be classed with the *quachickiquilli*, the feather-crest of the figure in the Sahagun manuscript.

In contrast with this well-characterised Codex Borgia figure, which can be confidently identified and, as we have seen, is moreover perfectly appropriate to the place where it occurs, a remarkable divergence is presented by the corresponding pictures of Codex Fejérváry and of our manuscript. As shown by a glance at these figures reproduced at Figs. 438 and 439, we have with them to do with quite a different deity. But, on the other hand, it is equally indubitable that it is one and the same person who is depicted in this place in Codex Fejérváry and in our manuscript. In our manuscript is seen (Fig. 438) a figure of yellow body and face colour, but which has below the eye a broad red longitudinal stripe, like the *Xochipilli* of Sheet 35 of our manuscript (Fig. 405 *supra*, p. 195), and the *Xochipilli*, the Moon God, who is figured before the just-mentioned one on the same Sheet 35 of our manuscript. But with this facial painting our Fig. 438 combines a peculiar nasal ornament which may be seen in exactly the same way on the mummy-pack on Sheet 60 of the pictorial manuscript in the Florantine Biblioteca Nazionale (Fig. 358 *supra*, p. 156). This mummy-pack, as the interpreter tells us, consisted of a bundle of brushwood which, being furnished with clothes, mask, and decorations, was set up in memory of

the dead on *Tititl*, the feast, honoured with gifts and songs, and then burnt. The nasal ornament which is seen on our Fig. 438 was therefore a decoration of the dead, and in fact of the *dead warriors*. For this mummy-pack figured in the Florentine document, and docketed with the mask of the deity of the Morning Star, is to be understood as set up in memory of a dead person whom his relatives could not themselves cremate and bury, because he had remained in the hands of the enemy and been immolated on the sacrificial stone. In fact this nasal ornament, which by the interpreter is called *yoacariuhtl*, 'Nasal Turquoise,' is to be seen in exactly the same form amongst the decorations of departed warriors which are figured on Sheet 9 of Codex Borbonicus with *Xiuhtecuhtli*, the Fire God, and *Tlanizcalpantecuhtli*, the Morning Star, and on Sheet 10 of the same manuscript with *Tonatiuh*, the Sun God, and with *Mictlantecuhtli*, the Death God. That a warrior (*yoatl*) was intended to be exhibited in the figure at Fig. 438 we also learn from the forked heron-feather ornament (*axtorelli*) which is to be seen on the head of the figure. For this is the warrior's familiar dance ornament, which likewise occurs as a constant article of dress and decoration with the god of the warriors, *Tzacuilipoca*. But it is perhaps a foreign kind of warrior that is meant to be shown by the picture at Fig. 438, as might be



Fig. 440. Xochiquetzal, Flower Goddess.  
Codex Borja 17 (= Kingsborough 42).  
Fourth of the Four Guardians of the Fifth Venus Period.



Fig. 441. Xochiquetzal, Flower Goddess.  
Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3723), Sheet 42  
(= Kingsborough 90).



Fig. 442. Xochiquetzal, Flower Goddess.  
Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 29  
(= Kingsborough 16).

inferred from the peculiar neck-pendant which perhaps represents a string with attached animal claws (*ropilecozatl*), and from the axo in the hand of the figure.

More distinct in the corresponding picture of Codex Fejérváry (Fig. 439). Here is seen a figure whose body is painted a white colour with yellow stripes, but with this combines the *ixtlan tlalcoan*, the black and yellow facial cross stripes, *Tzacuilipoca's* face-painting, besides *Tlanizcalpantecuhtli's* lambent forelocks, and the decoration of the dead warriors, the blue plug in the nostrils, the *yoacariuhtl*. I believe that all this taken collectively can scarcely be otherwise explained except that here it was intended to exhibit the *tonatiuh iizco yauh*, the soul of the dead warrior, which is the counterpart of the women who died in childhood and dwell in the West, in the same way that *Macuizcochitl* or *Axiateotl* and his associates, the representatives of the South, on the sheets to be described below, are contrasted with the *Ciuateteo* who symbolise the West. But the artist seems to have been unconscious of the fact that with this *tonatiuh iizco yauh* quite a different quarter of the heavens is indicated from that represented by *Macuizcochitl*, namely the East; for the souls of the departed warriors dwell in the East, and with hymns and dances escort the Sun to the zenith. He appears merely to have thought of the counterpart to the *Ciuateteo*; hence instead of *Macuizcochitl*, whose proper place is here, he has depicted the other counterpart, the *tonatiuh iizco yauh*.

The fifth member of the fourth row stands in our manuscript in the right division of the upper half of Sheet 42, in Codex Fejérváry in the left division of the upper half of Sheet 26, in Codex

Borgia in the left division of the upper row of Sheet 17.—In Codex Borgia (Fig. 440) is portrayed a goddess who is adorned with the fillet and the eagle-feather head-dress (*quauhtemalli*) of the Sun God, and has a black rubber patch, a *tlaxiyochtlī*, on her cheek, while from her nasal septum hangs a peculiar narrow yellow-painted plate, which tapers step-fashion downwards. Her body is wrapped in a blue *quaquehuētl* and a blue enagua, both of which, as well as the whole aspect of the figure, recall the little female figures which we met in the first and the second quarter of the *Tonalamātl* disposed in columns of five members (cf. Fig. 37 *supra*, p. 19, and Fig. 127 *supra*, p. 40). Obviously she is meant for a consort of the Sun God, and we shall therefore doubtless have to give this figure the name of *Xochiquetzal*. That this designation is right is shown by the corresponding figures of the two other manuscripts (Figs. 441, 442), both of which exhibit a goddess with quetzal-bird feather-mask; for the face of these goddesses, like that of the *Xochiquetzal*, ruler of the twentieth day-count (cf. Fig. 395 *supra*, p. 188), looks out from the open throat of a quetzal bird. Certainly these two figures of the specified manuscripts lack the two quetzal-feather tufts on their head, which are elsewhere the characteristic badge of *Xochiquetzal*, and are given, too, with the figure at Fig. 395. Instead of them the goddess of our manuscript (Fig. 441) wears the blue step-shaped nasal plate *yucuyapātl*, like the typical *Xochiquetzal* figures of Codex Borgia. A red line, which encloses at the corner the lower end of the nose and the oral part, seems in our manuscript to be the face-painting distinctive of *Xochiquetzal*; though we have also met it with *Cihuacōuātl*, who in our manuscript is figured opposite *Mictēcōuātl*, the third member of the fourth, the female, row (cf. Fig. 422 *supra*, p. 201). A remarkable article of dress, which is common to both figures (Figs. 441, 442), is the large cross-mirror (*tezcuītlapillī*) formed of a turtle's carapace (*ayotāpātl*)—As a special symbol, with the Codex Fejérváry figure (Fig. 442) is given a jewelled dish, from which a flowering tree issues between two stone knives. Instead of this in our manuscript, on the upper margin of the compartment, is seen a jaguar-skin, in which are stuck bone slagger (*ōmitl*), sacrificial knife (*tecpātl*), and agave-leaf spika (*uitztlī*), while beside it is the ring which, as always, is filled with a red colour, and out of which issues a flower which we have already met with the *Tlacōtētl* of our manuscript (Fig. 418 *supra*, p. 199), and presumably denotes blood (*ētlī*).

The Sun God and the Moon God, the consort of the Sun God and *Mucuilxochitl*, who in his very name illustrates the fourth *Tonalamātl* quarter, all these show the quarter of the South with a certainty that almost excludes doubt. The second god alone of this series, *Mixōuātl*, God of the Chichimecs and of the Hunt, has been elsewhere met as representative of the opposite quarter of the heavens—the North. I think that here again account should be taken of the special relations of tropical latitudes. As within the tropics the sun stands now in the South now in the North, so for the Mexicans the God of the South coincides ever and anon with the God of the North. *Tezōtlīyōva* is the *tlacōchēhuātl* and the *uitznanāuātl*, at once the *Tlācochcalco yōtl* of the 'warriors in the spear house' (the North temple) and of the *Uitznanua yōtl*, of the 'warriors in the place of thorns' (the South temple). Thus also to the *Mixōuātl*, the 'Cloud-snake,' God of the Northern Chichimecs, corresponds the *Uitznanāuātl*, God of the South, to the *Centzonmimixōva*, the 'four hundred Cloud-snakes,' the countless northern gods, correspond the *Centzonuitznanua*, the countless southern gods. And in the fifth member of the second row *Mixōuātl's* familiar form seems to have been placed in order to denote the South God, resembling him in nature.

## XII. The Five-and-twenty Divine Pairs.

SHEETS 42-53 (= KINGSBOROUGH 90-81). LOWER HALF.

On the lower half of Sheets 33-42, which contain the four times five guardians of the Venus periods discussed in the preceding chapter, there stand in our manuscript, but following each other in the reversed direction from back forwards (from right to left), twenty-five pictorial groups which differ from all other representations in this manuscript. Here with the pictures are given, not days or day-counts, that is, definite intervals of time, but ciphers, and ciphers that begin not with *one* but with *two*, and then run on to 26, so that, as above stated, twenty-five groups of pictures are distributed over these lower halves of Sheets 42-53. Fortunately this remarkable series is not confined to our manuscript alone. The groups recur with their ciphers on the whole in a somewhat similar manner on Sheets 33-38 (Kingsborough notation) of Codex Laud, where the series begins in the right division of the lower halves of Sheet 38, and is then continued in the direction from back forwards (from right to left) to Sheet 33, then in the upper halves of the sheets returning in the direction from left to right (from forward backwards) to Sheet 38. Lastly, the same groups are also represented in larger and more fully executed pictures on Sheets 58-60 (= Kingsborough 57-55) of Codex Borgia, where the beginning lies in the right division of the lowest row of Sheet 58. From this point we have to proceed in the lowest row from right to left to the end of Sheet 60, and then pass over to the middle row, following this row in the direction from left to right to the beginning of this cross row on Sheet 58, and lastly again proceeding from the beginning of the topmost row of Sheet 58 from right to left in order to reach the end in the left division of the topmost cross row of Sheet 60.

In Codex Laud the 25 groups follow immediately on Sheets 46-39 (Kingsborough notation), which form the proper commencement of this manuscript, and on which the Death God and the Earth Goddess are exhibited in eight different representations with columns of day-counts corresponding with a *Tonalamatl* disposed in columns of four members. In Codex Borgia before these 25 groups are figured on Sheet 57 (= Kingsborough 58) six pairs of deities, which by means of accompanying day-counts are assigned to six divisions of the *Tonalamatl* disposed in columns of five members. In my elucidation of Codex Fejérváry-Maysr (Berlin and London, 1901-1902, pp. 182-195) I have discussed these six pairs of deities, for which a parallel is likewise presented by Codex Fejérváry. With this series of the six pairs of deities our series has, at least in Codex Borgia, an outward feature in common, namely, that on the upper margin of almost every compartment is exhibited the sign of a half-sun or of day and night, or else that of the moon.

For the peculiar distribution of the ciphers observed with these 25 groups, namely that the numerals begin with two and end with 26, an explanation is offered by two facts. One is that of these 25 groups the 24 first appear to be arranged in twelve pairs, which are determined by the circumstances that with the first group of the pair the sign of the *evening*, combined of the sign of sun and night (cf. Figs. 444, 456, 460, 464, 470, 482, 486, 490), or else that of the moon (cf. Figs. 452, 478), is consecutively introduced in the upper margin of the compartment 1 with the second group of the pair that of the *sun*. The second circumstance is that the twenty-fifth group thus remaining over as a thirteenth and single group, with which the cipher 26 is consequently entered (cf. Fig. 494 *infra*), contains two persons, the Old God and the Old Goddess, *Ixtoc Micronatl* and *Tancuey*, who are to be classed with the Gods of Life and the Lords of Procreation, *Tonacueculli*, *Tonacaciuatl*, or *Omecueculli*, *Omeciuatl*, dwelling in the uppermost thirteenth heaven, that consequently the numeral *thirteen* becomes significant for this twenty-fifth group remaining over as a thirteenth and single group. We may imagine

that the person who invented this series had the intention of mentioning the numeral 13 in connection with this last twenty-fifth group. But since the other members of the series, as we have seen, are formed by *twelve pairs* of groups, he found himself obliged, in order to enumerate the groups of these pairs properly, to enter beside the end group the number  $2 \times 13$ , and this last group being a single one the numeral *one* was then naturally dropped at the beginning.

The fact that the 24 first groups dispose themselves in twelve pairs, over against which stands the twenty-fifth as a separate group, makes this whole series in a measure comparable to the series of the nine lords of the night hours, who, as shown by the initial sheet of Codex Fejérváry (cf. Fig. 265 *supra*, p. 77), are similarly disposed in four pairs, opposite which stands the initial member as a separate figure. With the series of the nine lords this grouping is an expression of the fact that the initial member is meant to be significative for the Middle, the others in pairs for the four quarters of the heavens. The question might now be asked whether, with the series with which we are here occupied, the isolated member, the end member, the twenty-fifth group, might not likewise be understood as significative for the region of the Middle, while the others, the twelve pairs, were meant to be brought into relation with the quarters of the heavens, the regions of the world. Here of course it would be a question, not of the four quarters of the heavens, but of the *six regions of the world*, the Above and the Below being superadded to the East, North, West, and South. And as we have twelve pairs or twenty-four single groups, four groups would fall to each of these six regions of the world. That a relation to the six regions of the world is here really presented, would be supported by the consideration that in Codex Borgia before this series the six regions of the world are illustrated by the six divine pairs of Sheet 57, and that in our manuscript this series is followed by a number of sheets which exhibit the six regions of the world in the form of six Rain Gods.

A distribution of twelve pairs or twenty-four single representatives amongst the six regions of the world may naturally be effected in various ways. What particular kind of distribution is actually adopted we can learn only from the pictures themselves. We have therefore first and foremost to inquire whether in any of these pictures a certain reference is given to any definite quarter of the heavens. And such appears really to be the case. The first picture (Sheet 42, right below in our manuscript) shows us the throat of Earth and the Death God and the Earth Goddess, and corresponding representations in the other manuscripts. Hence we shall have to bring this picture into association with the region of the Below. But the twenty-fourth picture, too, that is, the end member of the pairs, which we had to put into relation with the six regions of the world, similarly shows us in Codex Borgia (cf. Fig. 492 *infra*) a man plunging head foremost into the open throat of a skeleton, hence again a reference to the quarter of the Below. From this it follows that, if in these pictures we have a relation to the six regions of the world, the formula is not so simple that we should merely have to assume a single or a treble repetition of the rotation, and with such a repeated rotation a sequence of the quarters in the reversed sense.

The circumstance, however, that at the beginning and towards the end of the series the Below seems to be expressed, gives rise to another notion, that of ascent and descent. And this again leads to another suggestion. In the *Tonalnamatl* of the Aubin collection, and also in Codex Borbonicus, on each sheet accompanying the day sequences we see represented a series of 13 gods, and a series of 13 birds which are the disguises of as many other gods. In my elucidation of the *Tonalnamatl* of the Aubin collection<sup>1</sup> I have endeavoured to show proof that these two series were to be brought into line and should be looked on as the guardians of the *thirteen hours of the day*. How if here, too, a similar meaning were inherent in the twelve pairs and in the separate group following them? How if perhaps the first members of the pairs, distinguished by the picture of the evening or of the moon, denoted the *night hours*, the second, distinguished by the picture of

<sup>1</sup> Berlin and London, 1909-1921, pp. 26-25.



the sun, denoted the *day hours*, the separate group at the end denoted simultaneously the thirteenth day and the thirteenth night hour? It will not be denied that this surmise has something to say for itself. In Codex Borbonicus the thirteenth deity, the guardian of the thirteenth hour, is clearly characterised as *Citlatin icuc*, Goddess of the Stellar Sky, who is to be placed in line with the two old deities of the last compartment of our series. In this series the fourteenth picture, indicated by the epher 15 (Fig. 472), would stand for the middle of the day, and this very picture seems to exhibit the Sun God in his eagle-feather mask. For the ninth day hour we should take the eighteenth picture indicated by the epher 19 (Fig. 480), and this shows us *Quetzalcoatl*, who similarly in Codex Borbonicus and in the *Tonalamatl* of the Aubén collection gives the ninth day hour.

The relation to the Middle and to the six regions of the world might withal be taken as established. Then we should perhaps have to assign the first twelve night hours twice repeated to the six regions of the world in the order Below, East, North, West, South, Above, the first twelve day hours to the same six regions of the world in the order Above, East, North, West, South,



Fig. 443. Codex Lond 28 (=Kingsborough notation), right below. *Mictlantecutli* and *Mictecacauilli*, Lords of the Underworld, Lords of the First Night Hour and of the Lower Region.



Fig. 444. Codex Borjica 58 (=Kingsborough 57), lowest row. *Mictlantecutli*, the Death God and *Xochiquetzal*, the Earth Goddess, Lords of the First Night Hour and of the Lower Region.

Below. Thereby the condition would be complied with that the first as well as the last picture of the twelve pairs was intended to denote the lower region.

I must ask my readers to rest satisfied with these considerations on the general significance of this series, and will now attempt to determine the figures of the various pictures taken severally. Thereby it will be seen whether the just-made assumptions possess any real value.

The first picture, which carries the numeral 2, must, on my hypothesis, denote the first night hour and the lower region.—In our manuscript (Sheet 42, right below) we see a *throat of Earth* depicted on the lower margin of the compartment, of which it occupies the whole breadth. Above in the middle a settle or a chair, on which are seen a burnt-offering, a bundle of firewood and a rubber ball. To the left stands *Mictlantecutli*, the Death God, in full array, decked with human bones, skulls, and paper flags painted in red and white cross lines, swallowing a man whom he has seized with one hand, while the other is eagerly extended towards the Earth Goddess *Xochiquetzal*, who faces him and brings forward a second victim. The face of the latter is looking out from the open throat of a snake, exactly as with the goddess whom in our manuscript we found figured opposite *Mictecacauilli*, fourth of the four guardians of the third Venus period (cf. Fig. 422 *supra*, p. 201). Before the feet of the Death God is further seen the head of a *cipactli*, sign of the Earth.

The corresponding picture in Codex Lind (Fig. 443) is somewhat simpler. Here, too, in the middle of the field is seen the throat of Earth, but smaller. The Earth Goddess is depicted, as the associate of the Death God, like him with the lower jaw of a skull and exposed teeth. Here, too, she presents the Death God with a victim, whom he grasps with his left hand in order to take possession of him.

The Codex Borgia picture (Fig. 444) exhibits a larger number of details. In the middle of the upper margin is seen the symbol which is combined of the picture of night and of the sun, and denotes the evening, or here perhaps the night hours themselves. The Death God, equipped in the usual way, is represented, as in our manuscript, swallowing a victim. The Earth Goddess presents herself as *Xochiquetzal* in a variegated garment, her hair with two tresses projecting like horns and bound up with parti-coloured bands, recalling the so-called *Tlacoynales* of the *Zapotec* women. Yet she, too, in the same way offers the Death God a victim, but whose throat she appears to be cutting with a sacrificial knife—unless the knife is merely held forward. Moreover, in Codex Borgia is further seen a pot with broken bottom, a red snake issuing from the fractured part, while on the other side is shown a *rabbit*, which here, perhaps, denotes the earth, as does the *cipactli* head in the



Fig. 445. Codex Lind 29 (= Kingborough notation), left below.

*Xochiquetzal*, Goddess of Food Supplies, Lady of the First Day Hour and of the Upper Region, and the *tlamoyanque*, the Servant of the Goddess.



Fig. 446. Codex Borgia 56 (= Kingborough 57), lowest row.

picture of our manuscript. The pot with cracked bottom, from the fractured part of which the red snake, that is, blood, is issuing, appears to be a symbol of the cooking-pot in which the members of the victim were cooked in the preparation of the *tlacatlolli*, the human flesh maize stew (cf. Fig. 389 *supra*, p. 181). The tendering of a captive on the part of the goddess presumably signifies the birth of a child, on which I have more to say in discussing the third *Tonalamantl* division.

The second picture, beside which stands the cipher 3, must on my hypothesis denote the first day hour and the upper region.

In our manuscript (Sheet 42, left above) on the right is seen a goddess who is seated on a mat, and must doubtless again be *Xochiquetzal*, for she wears a wreath of flowers in her hair, and has about her mouth the red angular line which we likewise met on the face of the *Xochiquetzal* at Fig. 441 (*supra*, p. 209). The goddess is to be taken as the chief person for this compartment. For the male figure opposite her who is seated on the jaguar skin and painted a blue colour, is depicted cross-armed, in the attitude which amongst the Mexican and Central American Indians still expresses the submissiveness with which the servant approaches his master. The *Xochiquetzal*, as we saw, is placed on a level with the *Tonalamantl* who dwells in the uppermost heaven. Between the two figures are further shown offerings, a dish with maize, another with an animal's foot (or a human forearm), and a stand with a jewel.

This goddess and her servant are likewise shown in the Codex Laud picture (Fig. 445). Here the goddess is represented kneeling, the usual attitude of repose of Mexican women. Her hair, bound up with a parti-coloured band, and standing out in two horn-like tresses, forcibly recalls the female style of hair-dressing in the Vienna manuscript and in the Codex Sanchez Solis. The servant seated on a jaguar-skin opposite her is represented in the same submissive attitude, and also painted a blue colour. Amongst the offerings we here recognise a wooden stand (*tlapechtlis*) with a jewel (*chalchihuitl*) and a dish of maize-grains, in which, however, are stuck two agave-leaf spikes (*nixtli*).

In the Codex Borgia picture (Fig. 446) above is shown the picture of the Sun. On the left side is *Xochiquetzal*, drawn and painted almost exactly as in the preceding picture (Fig. 444), with parti-coloured *quechquemiltl* and parti-coloured enagua, and hair bound up with a variegated band from which project two horn-like tresses. The *tlamaneazqui* facing her is painted brown, the usual colour of men, but here not figured in the already described attitude of submission. In her hand the goddess holds a bone dagger, the servant opposite has a bunch of stalks, such as the priests unifying themselves were wont to draw through the hole which they bored in their tongue. Amongst the offerings here in the middle of



Fig. 447. Codex Laud 37 (= Kingsborough's notation), right above.  
*Xochiquetzal*, the Goddess of Flowers and *Tlaltlauhqui* *Tzetzatlipoca*, the Red *Tzetzatlipoca*, the Lords of the Second Night Hour and the East.



Fig. 446.  
Codex Borgia 56 (= Kingsborough's 57), lowest row.

the lower margin of the compartment is seen a pot which is painted in the colours of the jewel, in which are stuck two maize-ears, and out of which hang down two strings of jewelled garbs. Beside it was shown a dish which is still perfectly reproduced by Kingsborough's draughtsman, and out of which shoot up three flowers which may denote the sacrificial blood, or else the vapour of a seething mass of resin. But, as may be inferred from the facsimile, these flowers alone are still to be seen in the manuscript.

The third picture, beside which is given the cipher 4, must now denote the second night hour and the East.

In our manuscript (Sheet 41, right below) is portrayed a goddess, who in this instance wears a large bunch of quetzal feathers on her head, but must again be identified as *Xochiquetzal*, as is shown by a comparison with the Codex Borgia picture. On her cheek she has a round spot painted a red colour in the style of the Sun God, and holds a large quetzal bird under her arm. Opposite, or rather behind her, for the goddess turns away from him, is seen a god, whose body is painted red, his face showing cross stripes in the manner of the red (*Tlaltlauhqui*) *Tzetzatlipoca*, save that therewith the nose and oral parts are given in a blue colour, a trait that I have not yet met elsewhere. He seems to have a kind of hair-pad of a yellow colour on his head, which is bound round with a chain presumably meant to consist

of stone knives. This is a familiar *Tezcatlipoca* decoration regularly given, e.g. in the Codex Telleriano-Bemensis pictura. The god is garbed only in a loin-cloth, and has a large red snake coiled round his neck. He is pictured in the submissive attitude as the *tlamacaucqui* of the foregoing compartment.

In Codex Laud (Fig. 447) are seen the same two persons, the goddess with the quetzal under her arm, and the red god who has a red snake entwined round his neck. Only these two persons have nothing special in themselves that might allow of their being identified with any particular deity.

The Codex Borgia picture (Fig. 448) shows with welcome clearness the goddess *Xochiquetzal*, who here again is figured with two projecting horn-like tresses, her hair, however, not tied up with a variegated band, but with a wreath of flowers (*izquicochitl* = Beuroris huanita?). A goddess with head dressed and adorned in this style, but naked, is seen in the lower half of Sheet 20 (= Kingsborough 19) of Codex Borgia, where she is figured on the water before the Water Goddess *Chalchiuhtlicue*. Facing the *Xochiquetzal* of our sheet is seated the red (*Tlatlauqui*) *Tezcatlipoca*. Here in Codex Borgia he is likewise figured in a thoroughly typical way, with the face-painting proper to him, the warrior's style



Fig. 449. Codex Laud 27 (= Kingsborough notation), left below.

*Xochiquetzal*, Goddess of Flowers, and the *tlamacaucqui*, Lords of the Second Day Hour and of the East.



Fig. 450. Codex Borgia 50 (= Kingsborough 56), lower row.

of hair-dressing (*tzotzocoueyuc*), and on his head a tuft of feathers, which, however, has not the usual form of the warrior's *astarelli*, but is a *quetzaltenalli*. Here, too, the goddess has a quetzal bird under her arm, and the god his red snake coiled round his neck. Of offerings with these gods are further to be seen, above a dish with a brown liquor bubbling over (*caeno* or melting resin?); in the middle a dish upset with grains of maize (?) falling out; and to the right the severed head of a quail. The upset vessel out of which the maize grains (?) are falling, is doubtless to be understood as 'he sendeth the gifts from above.' We see an upset dish of maize figured in a similar way with *Tonacotecuilli* on Sheet 40 (= Kingsborough 48) of our manuscript. And farther on in this series we shall meet this upset dish in the compartment where, as I must assume, the Sun God is depicted. In these pictures the *Tlatlauqui Tezcatlipoca* presumably stands for the Sun God of the night. For the *Piltzintecuilli*, the Sun God in the series of the nine Lords of the Night Hours, has also in Codex Borgia (cf. Fig. 290 *supra*, p. 97) the same garb and head-dressing as the red *Tezcatlipoca*, only that there he has a different face-painting, that appropriate to the Sun God. This may explain why here the *Tlatlauqui Tezcatlipoca* stands in a field which we must regard as at once the indication of a night hour and of the East.

The fourth picture, beside which stands the cipher 5, must have denoted both the second day-hour and the East.

In our manuscript (Sheet 41, left below) to the right *Xochiquetzal* is again seen on a jaguar-skin with the red angular line on her face, and again somewhat differently adorned, with a wreath of flowers in her hair and the two tufts of feathers (*ome quetzalli*) on her head, which indeed are the special badge of this goddess. Opposite her again stands the *tlamacozqui*, the servant of the goddess, in the same submissive attitude, with arms crossed below his breast. But in the middle between the two stands a decapitated woman whose head is replaced by a flowering tree—the flowers here, as usually, meaning blood—while, if I see right, a flower, that is blood, also issues from her breasts. With one hand she touches the *tlamacozqui*, and with the other holds a flower under *Xochiquetzal's* nose. The woman with severed head undoubtedly means the Earth. Let us remember the colossal image of *Cowall icau*, the so-called *Teyosomiqui* of Mexican archaeologists, whose head is also struck off and replaced by two snakes. Thus the whole scene becomes a very characteristic picture of the blossoming, of the increase, the fruitfulness of the earth, and this was the very notion that the Mexicans associated with the region of the East. At the same time the flowering tree growing out of the wound in the neck denotes the blood which the penitents drew from themselves during mortification which was shed with the offering with the object of fertilising the earth.



Fig. 451. Codex Laud 26 (Kingsborough notation), right below. *mayai*, Female Associate of Warriors, and *tlacoachi*, the Young Warrior, dancing. Lords of the Third Night Hour and of the North.



Fig. 452. Codex Borgia 59 (= Kingsborough 56), lowest row. *Mayateel*, the Deer Goddess, and *Uruacoyotl*, the Old Coyote, the Dance God. Lords of the Third Night Hour and the North.

The Codex Laud picture (Fig. 449) simply, as usual, depicts the woman here with the warrior's hair-dressing, and opposite her the *tlamacozqui* hobbling his arms crossed under his breast, and between the two only a flowering tree. A bone dagger (*omiltl*) broken in two pieces, which is seen at the side of the *tlamacozqui*, again points at the special significance of the blood.

The Codex Borgia picture, too (Fig. 450), is in this instance simpler than that of our manuscript, nothing being figured in the middle of the compartment save a simple flowering tree. The goddess *Xochiquetzal* has again her wreath of white flowers (*icquiazochitl*) in her hair, the *tlamacozqui*, a bone dagger in his ear. And both, the goddess as well as the *tlamacozqui*, are this time pictured in the submissive attitude with arms crossed under the breast, and both hold a bunch of green grass (*molinalli*) in their arms. On the lower margin of the compartment as an offering is seen a jewel ornament in a bejewelled vessel.

On my assumption the fifth picture, beside which stands the cipher 6, must at once denote the third night hour and the North.

In this compartment, although the underlying thought is absolutely the same, the three manuscripts differ somewhat in the treatment of the figures.

In this case the more characteristic picture is that of Codex Borgia (Fig. 452). The subject is Night and the North. Hence in the upper margin of the sheet we see the moon depicted, while the actors in the scene are thought of as *Chichimecs*. As a head adornment the goddess has a deer's head and long streaming tresses, as the so-called *Ixcuelli* is figured in the fourth *Tonalamatt* division. The god has the facial painting of the Dance Gods and the coyote's ear at his temple, hence represents *Ueuecoyotl*. Between the two is seen a chain of green jewelled (*chalchicuitl*) disks or jewel beads, one end of which lies on the neck of the god, while the other is held by the goddess. A little human figure lying on the ground between the two figures has doubtless much the same meaning as the man lying on the ground, or falling to the ground, who is seen figured with *Ueuecoyotl*, ruler of the fourth day-count and of the fourth *Tonalamatt* division.

In the two other places, our manuscript (Sheet 40, right below) and Codex Laud (Fig. 451), instead of the Dance God is shown a warrior in dancing dress (painted black and with the *axtozelli* in his hair), and in dancing attitude. Instead of the Deer Goddess a woman with her hair dressed as a man's, and evidently also in a dancing attitude; hence is undoubtedly one of the *magui*, the associates of the



Fig. 453. Codex Laud 30 (Kingsborough notation), left below.

*Xochiquetzal*, the Flower Goddess, and *Tlacuictezomachtli*, the Vulture God. Lords of the Third Day Hour and of the North.



Fig. 454. Codex Borgia 59 (= Kingsborough M6), lowest row.

bachelor warriors, who took part in the warriors' dance, and whose patroness and prototype was the goddess *Xochiquetzal* (cf. *supra*, pp. 188, 189). Both dancers grasp in their hand the chain of jewels (*chalchicuitl*), which in the picture in our manuscript is further provided with a central piece, a breastplate. Obviously this chain denotes the linking of the dancers in a circular dance. In our manuscript the revel is further illustrated by two pulque bowls.

The sixth group, beside which stands the cipher 7, must now in its turn denote the third day hour, and likewise the region of the North.

In all three manuscripts we see *Xochiquetzal*, and facing her a bird-man, in fact a *tlacuictezomachtli*, a man disfigured as a vulture, or a vulture-headed man. In Codex Laud (Fig. 453) he is simply painted red; in our manuscript (Sheet 40, left below) and in Codex Borgia (Fig. 454) he is further drawn as a skeleton; in our manuscript he also wears the *axtozelli*, the warrior's dress decoration, round his nape, and is drawing from his body the flower, that is, his heart; while in the Codex Borgia picture he actually presents a human heart to the person facing him. The dish with the flower, which is further shown beside this pair in our manuscript and in Codex Borgia, is of course a *quauhtlicalli*, a dish of sacrificial blood.

The seventh picture, beside which stands the cipher 8, must symbolise the fourth night hour and the region of the West. Here our manuscript and Codex Laud agree almost perfectly, but differ apparently in a striking way from what the Codex Borgia picture presents to us. But here also we shall see that the underlying concept is the same.

The picture in our manuscript (Sheet 39, right below) and that of Codex Laud (Fig. 455) show us *Xochiquetzal* with richly executed face-painting, with the blue step-shaped plate (*yacojapoletl*) hanging from the nasal septum over the mouth, and with quetzal-bird mask, as we have met her on Sheet 42 of our manuscript above to the right as fourth of the four guardians of the fifth Venus period. But here the goddess is depicted straggle-legged (*mamaçoubticac*), that is, in the attitude of a parturient, and from the vulva of the goddess issues a quetzal-feather ornament, an emblem of the—*nopililtze, noequisque, noquetzals*, 'O thou my child, my jewellal necklace, my quetzal-feather ornament.' Two strips of skin which are seen hanging down from the wrist-hands of the goddess, and are not met with in other pictures of the goddess, denote perhaps arm-bands of strips of *tlaquatzim* ('opossum') skin, which were applied to those in travail to



Fig. 455. Codex Laud 25 (Kingsborough edition), right below.  
Xochiquetzal, the Goddess who has borne Twins.  
Ruler of the Fourth Night Hour and of the West.



Fig. 456. Codex Borgia 60 (= Kingsborough 55), lowest row.  
Quetzalotl, the Goddess who has borne Twins, and  
Quetzalcoatl as zotol, as the Double Mam-eaz.

ease the delivery. In the Codex Laud picture the hands of the goddess are open and empty, but in our manuscript in one hand she holds a maize-ear, in the other a jewel ornament, both of which have evidently some relation to the offspring of the goddess. The children themselves—for there are two—are seen seated to the right and left at the feet of the goddess. For, as tradition relates, the goddess was the first woman who bore twins.

This in its way perfectly clear picture is in Codex Borgia (Fig. 456) replaced by quite a different representation, but one which in its way is equally clear and exhibits the same process. For here the goddess who has borne twins is represented by *Quetzalotl*, the goddess parting into two heads, bearing two heads, two different faces. But the twins that she has borne are figured below the goddess exactly as in the two other pictures. The goddess herself wears *Xochiquetzal's* costume, the particular-coloured *quechquemiltl* and the variegated enagua; but from the posterior side of both arms hang the wings and tail of a quetzal bird. This may again have relation to the *two quetzalli*, that is, the two children that she has borne. And such pictures as these make it probable that the *one quetzalli*, that is, the two quetzal-feather tufts which are seen projecting from the head of *Xochiquetzal* in her typical pictures, and which one is at first inclined to regard merely as costly transformations of the two tresses projecting like horns in the Mexican female hair-dressing, are likewise intended as an expression of the fact that

*Xochiquetzal* was the very first woman to bear twins. Of the two heads or faces borne by the Codex Borgia picture of the goddess, one shows us a female face enframed by long streaming hair, but with the fleshless under jaw and the exposed teeth of a dead person's skull, hence a *Cuauacatl* or a *Mictlacuacatl*. But the other, the posterior face, is that of *Tepcyollotli*, the Heart of the Mountains, the God of Caves, whom we have met as eighth of the Lords of the Night (cf. Fig. 295 *supra*, p. 103). That this particular face should be chosen as the other side of the Janus-head has, in my opinion, no other reason but the fact that the *Tepcyollotli* heads also bear in themselves the twofold, the twin formation in the two braids of hair standing out on the head.

Facing *Quaxzolotl* in the picture at Fig. 456 we see figured the Wind God *Quetzalcuauatl*, with his hoe (*uicli*) in his hand, and wearing a maize-car (*cuatl*) at his occiput, inserted by way of a feather. The whole figure is manifestly nothing more than a hieroglyphical expression for *zolotl*, 'double maize-car.' For *Quetzalcuauatl*, whose name properly means 'quetzal-feather snake,' may also be translated 'the costly twin.'

The West in the *cuatlampan*, the region of the women. This is obviously the reason why the fourth night hour, which at the same time denotes the West, was expressed by the picture of the twin-bearing goddess.

The eighth group, beside which stands the cipher 8, must conformably denote at once the fourth day hour and the region of the West. The same notions which found such remarkable expression in the just-described pictures have also been dominant for the representations of this division. Here have been chosen *Tonacatecutli*, *Tonacacuauatl*, Lords of Life, Lords of Procreation, to give expression to the West and to the fourth hour, the Parturient, the Earth Goddess, representing the night hour, being here confronted by the Gods of Life and Procreation dwelling in the uppermost heaven, and taken as symbols of the corresponding day hour.

In the Codex Borgia picture (Fig. 458) the Lord of Life is clearly characterised by the old bearded face, with the strange ring-shaped appendage below the upper lip which in this manuscript reproduces the contracted corner of the mouth of old gods. For *Tonacacuauatl* the artist has simply placed *Xochiquetzal*, who, as we know, is in fact identified with *Tonacacuauatl*. Expression is then given to the subject in hand by making the goddess offer the god a flower, that is, something precious, whereby with these gods a *child* is undoubtedly meant. But now with this symbol the priest at once again calls to mind the other meaning that the symbol of the flower may have, namely, that of sacrificial blood. So he forthwith figured above it a dish with a red coral snake, which, as we know, means *blood*. For the same reason he seems further to have put the god in a jaguar's dress, and provided the goddess with an eagle helmet-mask, thus making them the representatives of the *quauhtli-ocelotl*, of the 'Eagle-Jaguar,' that is, of the warrior. Lastly, he inserted a bone dagger (*omil*) in the head-dress of the god, and an agave-leaf spike in that of the goddess, while with both picturing a flower, which naturally here again means 'blood.' And in the lower margin of the compartment he has further placed a dish, from which two jewelled bands hang out, and in which are also stuck two bone daggers, each with its flower, that is, with blood, at the upper, the heft or handle end.

The same scene in simpler design is shown in Codex Laud (Fig. 457) and in our manuscript (Sheet 39, left below). In these two manuscripts the goddess is simply represented as *Tonacacuauatl* or *Xochiquetzal* without the eagle helmet-mask. But in both manuscripts the god is a *Tlacuacotl*, a form painted half in the colour of the human skin and half enveloped in a jaguar-skin, its face looking out from the open jaws of a jaguar. Here with both gods is given a flower, which in the picture in our manuscript is seen issuing from the goddess, hence undoubtedly means the child. And the relation to blood is indicated by the offerings, amongst which, in the Codex Laud picture (Fig. 457), we see two agave-leaf spikes inserted.



The ninth group, with which stands the cipher 10, must now, on my assumption, denote the fifth night hour and simultaneously the South.

These are the pictures, to which I have already somewhat frequently referred in previous publications, pictures which exhibit the Indian orchestra and the God of Music and the Dance. The female



Fig. 457. Codex Laud 35 (Kingsborough notation), left below.  
*Tenacuarisatl*, Lady of Procreation, and *Tlacuacotl*, the Jaguar God, Lord of Procreation.  
 Lords of the Fourth Day Hour and of the West.



Fig. 458. Codex Borgia 60 (= Kingsborough 85), lowest row.  
*Tenacuarisatl* and *Tenacuarisatl*, Lords of Life and Procreation, as *Tlacuacotl*, the Jaguar God, and *Quauhtleuatl*, the Eagle God.  
 Lords of the Fourth Day Hour and of the West.



Fig. 459. Codex Laud 31 (Kingsborough notation), right below.  
*Xochiquetzal*, Flower Goddess, beating the tortle's carapace (*apatl*) and brandishing the gourd-mistle (*apachchitl*), and *Tlacuacotl*, the Moon God, holding the skin drum (*tlapanacuatl*).  
 Lords of the Fifth Night Hour and of the South.



Fig. 460. Codex Borgia (= Kingsborough 55), lowest row.  
*Xochiquetzal*, Flower Goddess, and *Uenecoyatl*, God of the Dance and of Music.

member of the two musicians is again the goddess *Xochiquetzal*, who is portrayed in our manuscript (Sheet 38, right below) with a variegated band in her hair, in Codex Borgia (Fig. 460) with her wreath of white flowers (*izquicochitl*), in Codex Laud (Fig. 459) without any decoration in her hair. The male member is in Codex Borgia the *God of Music and the Dance*, for whom, without falling into any serious error, we may adopt the name of *Uenecoyatl*, 'the Old Coyote.' He is distinguished, as I have already described him in previous publications,<sup>1</sup> by a ring-shaped white (*tiçatl*) painting about the eye, and with

<sup>1</sup> Codex Fejervary-Mayer, Berlin and London, 1901-1902, pp. 125-127.

a painting about the mouth made with the same white earth, but tapering to a point backwards. At his temple he wears an animal's ear (a coyote's ear?), in the lobe of his ear a pendant carved from a musculo-shell, and tapering to a point downwards, for which, as I have shown, the name *oyonalli* is appropriate, and the same pendant on the necklace hanging down on his breast (cf. also Fig. 253 *supra*, p. 69). Instead of this Dance God, in our manuscript and in Codex Laud is seen an old bearded god painted a blue colour, who is clearly distinguished as *Tecizteuall*, that is, the Moon God, by the snail's shell which in the picture in our manuscript he wears on his brow.

Interesting is also the orchestra which is here seen performing. In all three manuscripts the god is beating the skin-drum, a wooden cylinder on one side spread with skin, on the other provided with feet scooped step-fashion. In the Codex Borgia picture and in our manuscript it forms a real *tlalpa ucuetl*, that is, stands on the ground, while in Codex Borgia the god holds the instrument in a strange way between his legs. In Codex Borgia the god beats this drum alone, but in Codex Laud and



Fig. 461.  
Codex Laud 34 (Kingsborough notation),  
left below.  
Nochitonal and her Companion, the Dancer.  
Lords of the Fifth Day Hour and  
of the South.



Fig. 462.  
Codex Borgia 60 (= Kingsborough 50),  
middle cross row.  
Xochipilli, Flower God, and Xochitonal,  
Flower Goddess.  
Lords of the Fifth Day Hour and of the South.

in our manuscript he wields a gourd-rattle (*ayacuaklli*) with his other hand. On her part, the goddess has for her principal instrument a turtle's carapace (*ayotl*), which, however, is not very clearly drawn in any of the three manuscripts. This she beats with a deer's antler, and with her other hand also wields the gourd-rattle (*ayacuaklli*), which should evidently be set off at one end with a tassel, but which the artist has here replaced by a flower.

The South is the *Xochitlalpan*, the land of flowers, where the Gods of Music and the Dance have their home, as have also the Gods of Revoly and Sports, *Maruilexchitl* and his associates.

In our manuscript and in Codex Laud (Fig. 459), in the upper part of the compartment is further seen a quetzal bird, which is stooping over a sacrificial dish. This is the descent on the offerings which we found so often pictured with the *Tonalamall* disposed in columns of five members which form the beginning of this manuscript. I am inclined here to take the bird as the solar bird, and the whole scene as another indication of the region of the South. In the Codex Borgia picture (Fig. 460) the quetzal bird does not swoop down on the dish, but is perched on the head of the goddess.

The tenth group, with which stands the cipher 11, must conformably denote at once the fifth day hour and the South.

In this section it is the simpler pictures presented by our manuscript (Sheet 38, left below) and by Codex Laud (Fig. 461) that would appear to reveal to us the real significance of the representation. For in these two manuscripts it is at once evident that two dancers are again intended to be exhibited, since, just as in the fifth picture (cf. Fig. 451 *supra*, and Sheet 40 of our manuscript, right below), the two persons are here shown linked together by a chain of jewelled (*chalcuiuitl*) disks, and also obviously in a dancing attitude. We see that here again with the picture of the day hour the same notion finds expression as in that of the corresponding night hour. The female member is again *Xochiquetzal*, who here in our manuscript is drawn with three locks curling up on her brow. In Codex Laud her 'vis-à-vis' displays no special distinctive mark. In our manuscript he is pictured with red body and red face and flame-coloured hair curling up in three locks all over the brow. A comparison with the figure in the Codex Borgia picture justifies us in identifying this form as *Xochipilli*, God of Flowers and of Food Supplies, who is also a kind of Fire or Sun God. The picture is completed by a disk with a maize-ear and a *chalcuiuitl* disk.

In Codex Borgia (Fig. 462) are seen two seated figures. But the goddess, who wears on her head a *copilli* painted in the colours of the Rain God, likewise holds with both hands a jewelled (*chalcuiuitl*) chain. And the god, who here wears the Sun God's head-dress, is apparently taking a chain of jewels from a vessel figured below, or else is putting one in it. Both deities have, moreover, a bone knife and agave-leaf spike inserted in their head-dress. In the upper part of the compartment is further shown a rubber ball, and below two other offerings. I will not here venture on a more special explanation.

The eleventh group, beside which stands the cipher 12, should now denote both the sixth night hour and the upper region, if my hypothesis is really well grounded.

But at first sight it would seem as if this hypothesis must here break down. For here in all three manuscripts (cf. our manuscript, Sheet 37, right below, and Figs. 463 and 464) is represented the broken flowering tree, from the wounds of which blood flows. We have met this tree above with *Itzamalotl*, Lady of the Sixteenth Day-count (cf. Fig. 383 *supra*, p. 178), and shall again meet it below, where the same goddess stands as Lady of the Fifteenth *Tonalamatl* Division. And we know that there this tree is a symbol of the place called *Tamoanchan*, 'the House of Descent,' which is also named *Xochitl éucuan*, 'where the flowers are,' and is described as the abode of the blessed gods, as home of the Earth Goddess and of maize, and as the land where the wandering tribes made a long sojourn. Hitherto I have always identified this place with the West, the region where the Sun descends into the Earth, in accordance with the meaning of the name 'House of Descent,' and relying on general considerations as well as on the manner of its presentation. How should this tree be here made to denote at once the sixth night hour and the upper region? Nay, more, how should we think of the upper region at all, when here in the Codex Laud picture (Fig. 463) the very descent itself into the depths is symbolised by the familiar picture of the reptile's jaws (jaws of Earth), into the opening of which a man tumbling head foremost disappears?—My answer is that with all these relations there is nowhere any question of any absolutely fixed concepts established, so to say, juridically, that on the contrary the highest wisdom, the chief mystification (of the priestly expositors), consists in the shifting lights, the ambiguities, the reciprocal play of concepts one with another. The reptile's jaws with the man disappearing in them is assuredly here nothing but a hieroglyph for *Tamoanchan*, 'House of Descent.' But this very *Tamoanchan*, as appears in the clearest way from the above-quoted passage (p. 188) from the *Historia de Tlaxcala* of *Diego Muñoz Camargo*, is conceived as the *Chicxmauhuepanihcozn Itzhecoyan*, 'donde los aires son muy frios, delicados y helados, sobre los nueve cielos,' the place above the nine heavens, the place of the fresh winds, that is, in fact, as the uppermost region, the heaven where dwells *Xochiquetzal*, and where dwell the Lords of Life, *Tonacatecutli*, *Tonaucuiuatl*. And here in our manuscript (Sheet 37, right below) we actually see beside the broken tree to the left *Thaacotl*, the god with the jaguar helmet-mask, who in the eighth picture (cf. our

manuscript, Sheet 99, left below, and Figs. 457, 458) appeared for *Tonacatecutli*, the old Lord of Life. And to the right of the flowering tree is seen the goddess *Xochiquetzal*, who has her head here covered with a red cloth, in the style of certain *Tecuatlipoan* figures, and is distinctly characterised as *Tonacaciuatl*, 'Lady of Life,' by a maize-ear figured above her. For *tonacayotl*, 'our flesh, our body,' is the maize, and is used simply as a word for maize.

Now, while the Codex Laud Fig. 463, drawn indeed, as usual, much more simply, still contains nothing to contradict what we learn from the Vatican picture, here in the Codex Borgia picture (Fig. 464) the two chief persons are differently garbed in quite a remarkable manner. Both have the fleshless lower jaw and the exposed teeth of a dead man's skull, and both have their hair bound round with a red coral snake. I believe that for *Tonacatecutli*, *Tonacaciuatl*, Lords of Life, here have been substituted as inhabitants of *Tamoanchan* the two old magicians *Ozomoco* and *Cipactonal*, inventors of the calendar and



Fig. 463.  
Codex Laud 33 (= Kingborough notation),  
right below.  
*Tonacatecutli*, *Tonacaciuatl*, the Lords of Life,  
in *Tamoanchan*,  
Lords of the Sixth Night Hour and  
of the Upper Region.



Fig. 464.  
Codex Borgia 60 (= Kingborough 65),  
middle cross row.  
*Ozomoco* and *Cipactonal*, the two Old Sorcerers,  
in *Tamoanchan*,  
Lords of the Sixth Night Hour and  
of the Upper Region.

inventors of soothsaying and witchcraft, who would here be identified as the two old gods by the skeletal lower jaw, and as the magicians by the fillet consisting of a red snake.

Thus the apparent contradiction which confronted us in this section has been removed, and my assumptions have been here also confirmed. Amongst the Mexicans the very same notions were conjured up whether their thoughts turned to the West or to the upper region. In fact, we have found those very same Lords of Life depicted in the eighth picture which is to be assigned to the West (cf. Fig. 458 *supra*, p. 221, and our manuscript, Sheet 99, left below) that have elsewhere the uppermost region of heaven set apart as their abode.

Lastly, the twelfth group, beside which stands the cipher 13, should on our hypothesis have to denote the sixth day hour and the lower region.

The picture in our manuscript, which is found in the middle division of the lower half of Sheet 37, shows on the right side a standing figure of *Xochiquetzal*, who is portrayed in this instance with a wreath of flowers in her hair and two tresses rising high above her head, and clothed with a red *quechquemiltl*, and, as usual, with an enagus painted in the colours of the *chalcuiciltl*. She lets the bird held in the arm of her

vis-à-vis drink out of her dish, and at the same time tenders him a *cozcatt*, a jewelled necklace. The scene is represented quite in a similar way in the Codex Borgia picture (Fig. 466), and somewhat varied in Codex Laud (Fig. 465). For in the Codex Laud picture the man, who has here a jewel (*chalchiquiltl*) hanging before his heart, presents his bird to the goddess, while she offers him a dish with one hand and a *cozcatt* with the other. I believe we shall have to ascribe to this scene quite a special meaning, one in fact having relation to sexual intercourse. For here in Codex Borgia (Fig. 466) the female member is depicted as *Tlaçolteotl*, that is, as the Goddess of Dirt, as the representative of sensual pleasure, being distinguished in the usual way by the black rubber painting about her mouth, the golden nasal crescent (*gyeacmetzli*), the fillet of unspun cotton (*ichonazochitl*), and the amulet of crescent pattern. I believe that in the two other manuscripts also, Codex Laud and Vatican, where *Tlaçolteotl* is not figured as such, that is, with her dress and badge, this very scene is intended to characterise her, and that this picture has been chosen because *Tlaçolteotl* is the *Tlalli iyolla*, the 'Heart of the Earth,' hence represents the lower region.



Fig. 465. Codex Laud 33  
(Kingsborough notation), left below  
*Xochiquetzal* and the *tlaloacazqui*.  
 Lords of the Sixth Day Hour and  
of the Lower Region.



Fig. 466. Codex Borgia 60  
(= Kingsborough 55), middle cross row.  
*Tlaçolteotl*, the Earth Goddess and *Xochiquetzal*.  
 Lords of the Sixth Day Hour and  
of the Lower Region.

Here the male member of the group bears no special badge, as mostly in these pictures where the goddess is everywhere the chief person.

Amongst the offerings in our manuscript is further shown a pulque dish, and a vessel in which are stuck flowers and a bone dagger, hence is doubtless a sacrificial-blood dish. In Codex Borgia are given a *chalchiquiltl* and a dish on which lie a flower, bone dagger, and agave-leaf spike, consequently also a sacrificial-blood dish.

With the following thirteenth picture, with which stands the cipher 14, if my assumption be right, the rotation of the quarters of the heavens should begin again in the same way as it has been determined for the first twelve pictures. That in the following twelve pictures the rotation really does follow the same sequence, I at once find a certain confirmation in a small outward detail. In Codex Borgia, in the picture which on my assumption should in this second series denote the night hours and the North—it is the eighteenth picture of the whole series (Fig. 478 *infra*)—on the upper margin of the compartment is given the picture of the moon, but in this compartment in the second series alone. But in point of fact we have also met this same picture of the moon in the first series alone with the group which there in the first series denoted the night hours and the North, namely, with the fifth

group (cf. 452 *supra*, p. 217), here given instead of the picture of the evening, which is exhibited on the upper margin by the other compartments indicating the night hours. But the strange circumstance that, as I have assumed, the night hours begin with the lower, the day hours with the upper region, finds its explanation if with this thirteenth group the rotation really begins again. For the thirteenth and fourteenth group should denote the seventh night and the seventh day hour, that is, midnight and midday. And one understands at once that the lower region was made the *urna* for midnight, the upper for midday.

Accordingly the now next following thirteenth picture should, as stated, indicate midnight and the lower region. Here in all three manuscripts, in the middle of the picture, we see a scorpion (*colotl*) depicted. The scorpion, whose sting causes a burning pain, is the animal of the Fire God,

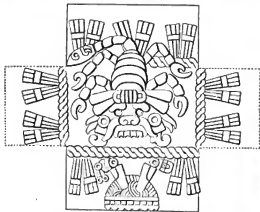


Fig. 467. *colotl*, Scorpion, the Sign of Mortification and *paxtopyalli*, Grass Ball, in which are stuck two blood-stained agave-leaf spikes (*nitliti aq6*). Relief on the Upper and Front Side of a Stone Seat.  
R. Ethnological Museum, Berlin.



Fig. 468. Hieroglyph *yonalneqantla*, Midnight, and *paxtopyalli*, Grass Ball, in which are stuck two blood-stained agave-leaf spikes (*nitliti aq6*).  
Codex Borbonicus 18.

and as a rule is figured with the Fire God. But on that very account it is likewise an emblem of mortification. This is distinctly seen in the relief of a stone seat of the Uhde collection in the Royal Ethnological Museum (Fig. 467), where the picture of the scorpion is sculptured on the upper and posterior side, but on the front side that of the grass ball (*paxtopyalli*), in which are stuck the agave-leaf spikes (*nitliti*) which were smeared with the blood drawn by the penises from gashes in their tongue or ear. But if the scorpion is an emblem of mortification, it is also an emblem of the time when the people mortified themselves. And that was midnight (*yonalneqantla*). For at midnight the shell-horns of the temples trumpeted, and at the sound the priests rose to mortify themselves, to sing, and then go in procession to the bath. Therefore midnight was called (*tlahpitzalizpau neteteyuiztlan*), 'where the conchs were blown, where they gashed their flesh.'<sup>1</sup> Hence the relief just referred to may be regarded as an exact parallel to the pictures, for instance, of Codex Borbonicus (Fig. 468), where we find figured above the more or less conventionalised picture of the *paxtopyalli*

<sup>1</sup> Sahagun, VII, chap. 40, ms. Biblioteca Laurentiana.

the hieroglyph of midnight (*youtnepetla*), an eye enveloped in darkness. I accordingly believe I am really justified in taking as an indication of midnight the picture of the scorpion which here in all three manuscripts under consideration is seen figured with the thirteenth group.

In harmony with this view, of the two persons standing beside the scorpion, the man is obviously depicted as a priest, that is, with body and face painted black, and with a broad red spot at his temple. Thus at least in Codex Borgia (Fig. 470) and in our manuscript (Sheet 37, left below), while he is painted a red colour in Codex Laud (Fig. 469), as in this manuscript are nearly all the male persons in the groups denoting the night hours. In Codex Borgia this priest in addition wears the head of the animal which we have met as Earth God and representative of the lower region in the right division of the lower half of Sheet 9 in our manuscript (cf. also Fig. 258 *supra*, p. 71). But the goddess who in our manuscript and in Codex Laud is portrayed in the usual way, as *Xochiquetzal*, has a deer's head on her head, like the goddess who in the fifth picture leads off with the old coyote, the Dance God (Fig. 452 *supra*, p. 217), and these denoted the North, the region of the Earth. In



Fig. 469.  
Codex Laud 33  
(Kingborough rotation),  
left above.



Fig. 470. Codex Borgia 59 (= Kingborough 56),  
middle cross row.  
The Priest of *Tlaltecotli*, the Earth God, and the Deer Goddess,  
Eulers of the *satetepiquen*,  
the Time of Mortification, of Midnight,  
and of the Lower Region.

Codex Borgia below the priest is figured what looks like a wooden knife with an animal's head for handle, which perhaps answers to the kind of wooden lancet which we find figured in Codex Borbonicus with the two old physicians, *Ozomoro* and *Cipaetonal*, as well as with *Xipe* and with *Ittlacohuicqui*. Below the goddess are two spinules in a dish. Moreover, beside them, the priest has a dish with flowers (i.e. blood?), the goddess one with maize-ears. And lastly, above them are seen a vessel with a red-blood snake, and a pot with broken bottom, like the one we found given with the picture (Fig. 444 *supra*, p. 213), which likewise denoted the night hour as well as the lower region, only there a red-blood snake was issuing from it.

It is further remarkable that here in all three manuscripts the persons are clearly drawn as if turned, or turning, from each other. This may have relation to the fact that the priest is living a chaste life, has renounced intercourse with women. But thereby expression may also be given to a difference of direction, the Above and Below, as with the figures of *Xochipilli* and *Xochiquetzal*, who are similarly drawn averted from each other on Sheet 57 of Codex Borgia. And this difference, which was then apparently to be understood as pointing to the upper region, must here in our pictures be naturally taken as pointing to the lower region.

The fourteenth picture, with which stands the cipher 15, must now correspond to the seventh day hour or to midday, and likewise to the upper region.

And in point of fact here in Codex Borgia (Fig. 472) *Xochiquetzal*, who is again pictured with her wreath of white flowers in her hair, and has also a white flower (*iguicrockitl*) as a painting on her cheek, is confronted by a form painted a bright red colour, with an eagle helmet-mask and a white flower also painted on his cheek, a form which can only represent the Sun God, or *Xochipilli* as Sun God. From the mouth of the goddess issues a chain of jewel beads, while the god holds in his left hand a bone dagger and agave-leaf spike, in his right the copal pouch (*copal-xiquipilli*). For the midday hour is the time when incense was offered to the Sun God. Two upset dishes (with maize?) appear, as in a previous section devoted to the quarter of the East (cf. *supra*, p. 215), to denote the gifts sent by the god from above. A copal-pouch is similarly held in his hand by the god of Codex Laud (Fig. 471). But in our manuscript an exchange has evidently taken place between this and the following picture. For what in our manuscript forms the fourteenth picture (Sheet 36, right below) corresponds exactly to the fifteenth picture (Fig. 473) of Codex Borgia. Now as the fourteenth picture of Codex Laud agrees with the fourteenth of Codex Borgia, as at once shown by the copal-pouch in the god's hand, the mistake that has occurred must have been made in our manuscript, and the fifteenth picture in this document (Sheet 36, middle below) must therefore be placed in line with the fourteenth of Codex Borgia and of Codex Laud. And in fact here, too, we see facing the goddess a god painted a red colour, who corresponds exactly with the god of the tenth compartment in our manuscript, that is, a compartment where in Codex Borgia is likewise depicted a god docketed with the Sun God's fillet, and doubtless to be identified as *Xochipilli*.

The next, the fifteenth picture, is that with which stands the cipher 16. According to my theory it must denote the eighth night hour and simultaneously the East.

In Codex Laud (Fig. 473) and likewise in the fourteenth picture of our manuscript (Sheet 36, right below), which, as we have above seen, answers to the fifteenth of the two other manuscripts, both the god and the goddess are pictured with a *coacatl*, a jewelled necklace, in their hand, and above them are seen in a dish a green jewel (*chalchicuitl*) and three agave-leaf spikes (*uitztl*). In her pierced nasal septum the goddess of our manuscript wears a rod, which occurs with none of the other female figures of this series. With the god is seen a wreath of flowers extending from the ear over the whole head high up.

These figures, which, if they stood alone, would remain somewhat unintelligible, receive their elucidation from the corresponding picture of Codex Borgia (Fig. 474). For here the goddess has the Fire God's facial painting, with which, however, she combines the fleshless lower jaw and the exposed teeth of a dead man's skull. These are two distinctive marks which in a certain way recall *Itzapalotl*, the Chichimec goddess. The hair shoots upwards above her forehead in two flame-like tresses. This, as we shall see, is a characteristic trait of *Chantico*, the Fire Goddess of *Xochimilco*. Lastly, on her hair she has a complete cover of downy feathers, and on her forehead a white rosette made of downy feathers. This is again a badge exactly like that we have met with *Itzapalotl* the Chichimec goddess (cf. Fig. 383 *supra*, p. 178). Now, I am positively convinced that there is an intimate relation between these two figures. For the *butterfly* is not the sign of Earth, but is a *homologue of the flower*, and like it also an expression and symbol of the flickering, that is, of *fire*. And without doubt a relation exists between the Chichimec of *Quauhtitlan*, who worshipped *Itzapalotl*, and those of *Xochimilco*, whose deity was the Fire Goddess *Chantico*. One may doubt as to what name may be appropriately applied to the goddess of the fifteenth picture of Codex Borgia (Fig. 474). She is beyond doubt a Fire Goddess, as shown by the flames which we see issuing from her mouth, and also by the rubber ball set with spikes which she holds in her hand. And she is also a *Chichimec* goddess, as indicated



by the bone daggers broken in pieces which are seen in the dish above the two figures. For the broken seems everywhere to denote what is old, what lies far behind. And just because she is a Chichimeo goddess, she is here in our manuscript disguised by the rod in her nasal septum.

No less characteristic than the female is the male member of this group. It is again a *priest*, who from head to foot is painted a black colour, and distinguished by a large red spot at the temple.



Fig. 471. Codex Lind 33  
(Kingsborough notation),  
middle above.

Xekipilli, the Flower God, and Xekiqustal, the Flower Goddess. Rituals of the Seventh Day Hour, i.e. of the Midday Hour and of the Upper Region.



Fig. 472.  
Codex Borgia 59 (= Kingsborough 56),  
middle cross row.



Fig. 473. Codex Lind 33, 34  
(Kingsborough notation), upper half.  
Tlacuatzli, the Priest and the Fire Goddess. Rituals of the Eighth Night Hour and of the East.



Fig. 474. Codex Borgia 59  
(= Kingsborough 56), middle cross row.  
Rituals of the Eighth Night Hour and of the East.

But here he has a bone dagger stuck above his ear, from which blood flows copiously, while his neck is entwined by two red snakes, one struggling upwards, the other downwards. Evidently in this picture fire is again brought into association with the idea of mortification. But this figure shows that the wreath of flowers extending from the ear over the whole head of the male member of the corresponding group in our manuscript (Sheet 36, right below) is not to be regarded as a decoration, but that here again the flower stands simply for blood. And lastly, a comparison with the Codex Borgia picture as a whole shows that the *cozcuil*, too, the jewellery held in their hands by the two

persons of the Codex Laud picture and of our manuscript, can likewise have reference only to mortification, which indeed is also pointed to by the three agave-leaf spikes and the *chalekiuitl* which we see stuck in the dish above the two figures.

The Fire Goddess, the old Chichimec goddess, seems to suggest the time before the birth of the Sun, the morning twilight, and therefore to stand here for the East.

The sixteenth picture, beside which we see eternal the cipher 17, must accordingly denote the eighth day hour, and likewise the East.

Here by a flowering tree is obviously symbolised, in much the same way in all three manuscripts, the growth (*icxalli*) which was attributed to the vivifying, life-giving action of the Fire God, and in the imagination of the Mexicans was such a special indication of the East, regarded as the region of fertility and of increase. This tree is seen to be drawn by the god right up from a sacrificial dish, while the goddess, at least in Codex Borgia (Fig. 476) gives simultaneous expression to the same idea by her two uplifted arms. In Codex Borgia (Fig. 476) the sacrificial dish, out of which the



Fig. 475. Codex Laud 34  
(Kingsborough notation), middle above.  
*Xochiquetzal* and the *tlamatzqui* in *Tlofoan*, the Place of Growth.



Fig. 476. Codex Borgia 58  
(= Kingsborough 57), middle cross row.  
Lords of the Eighth Day Hour and of the East.

tree shoots upwards, stands on its part on a roadway, which develops a kind of hay or niche enclosing a dish from which a white liquor set with the Pulque God's nasal crescent (*yacumetzli*) overflows, and obviously denotes pulque (*octli*). Here we have evidently a *robax* before us. The blue path provided with footprints, on which the goddess also stands, we shall have to read as *tlalli*, 'earth,' the dish with the liquor as *octli*, pulque. And this combined gives *tlaloctli*, 'pulque of the earth,' an often attempted etymology of the name *Tlaloc*, the Rain God, which naturally means something quite different—presumably 'he who causes to sprout,' being derived from a verb *tlaloctli*. This *robax* makes the meaning of the whole picture still clearer. And that this picture is intended to designate the region of the East can now no longer be reasonably doubted.

The *tlamatzqui*, who is drawing the tree upwards, wears in Codex Borgia an armet of snail-shells, such as the Old God of Heaven is wont to wear. In our manuscript he is dressed in a priest's doublet (*xicalli*), and on his breast wears attached to a leather thong, the eye, the *amnatl*, the ornament of *Tzacatlipooa*. It seems as if we should regard him as priest of the Fire God.

It is further remarkable, though for this I can offer no explanation, that both in the picture in our manuscript and in that of Codex Laud (Fig. 475) the goddess turns her head backwards.

The seventeenth group, with which stands the cipher 18, must now, on my assumption, denote the ninth night hour and the North. This is the sheet on the upper margin of which the artist of Codex Borgia has placed the hieroglyph of the Moon, instead of the sign of the Evening, which is shown by the other compartments of this series representing the night hours.

Here again we have a remarkable difference between our manuscript and Codex Laud on the one hand, and Codex Borgia on the other. Our manuscript (Sheet 35, right above) and Codex Laud



Fig. 477. Codex Laud 34 (Kingsborough notation), right above. Lords of the Ninth Night Hour and of the North.



Fig. 478. Codex Borgia 58 (= Kingsborough 57), middle cross row. Lords of the Ninth Night Hour and of the North.



Fig. 479. Codex Laud 35 (Kingsborough notation), left above. Xochipilli and Xochiquetzal, the Offerers. Lords of the Ninth Day Hour and of the North.



Fig. 480. Codex Borgia 58 (= Kingsborough 57), middle cross row. Quetzalcoatl, the Wind God, and Xochiquetzal, the Offerers. Lords of the Ninth Day Hour and of the North.

(Fig. 477) show, as usual, two persons, a female and a male, who, however, have here no special distinctive mark. They stand facing each other, and are connected together by a red coral snake coiled round both their necks. But it would almost seem, at least in the Codex Laud picture, as if the two were represented as if quarrelling. Between them we see in Codex Laud a heart, and above them in both manuscripts two green jewels (*chalchihuitl*), each on its own dish.

But Codex Borgia (Fig. 478) depicts a god painted a blue colour, but not equipped with any special badge, and opposite him Xochiquetzal, who has her hair bound with a many-coloured band between the

two upright braids. Each is seated on their jaguar-skin hassock. And each has under their arm a child, the two children being held facing each other, much as in cock-fighting the birds held under the arm or in the hand are set facing each other. And here, too, it almost looks as if these two children were really intended to be represented as about to fight. But on the lower margin of the compartment is seen a red coral-snake, which is coiled together in two knots in a remarkable way, so that we almost fancy we recognise the familiar sign which consists of ring and ray, or ring and trapeze, and in the Vienna and other manuscripts serves to distinguish the dates of the year.

I will not here venture to attempt a positive explanation, and will merely remark that, despite the apparent incongruity, the three manuscripts undoubtedly aim at representing the same persons and the same action. The two children, which in the Codex Borgia picture are held under the arms, are in the two other manuscripts indicated by the two *chalchicuitl* which are figured above the two persons, each on its own dish. But the linking of the two persons together by the red coral-snake, as shown in the pictures of our manuscript and of Codex Laud, has its parallel in the double-knotted red snake on the lower margin of the Codex Borgia picture.

The eighteenth picture, beside which the artist has written the cipher 19, must now denote the ninth day hour and the North as well.

But here the three manuscripts again in some respects part company. The picture in our manuscript, in the middle of the lower half of Sheet 36, shows us on the left side *Xochipilli*, the Flower God, figured, as in the tenth compartment, with red body and red face and flame-coloured hair curling up in three locks above the brow, but here with the addition of a large jewelled (*chalchicuitl*) breast ornament on a chain of beads hanging low down. He holds high up a dish from which a quetzal bird is drinking. This can doubtless scarcely mean anything except that 'he brings a blood offering.' Facing him naturally stands the goddess *Xochiquetzal*, in her hand a rubber ball, to which, as usual, is attached a single quetzal feather. Below is further seen a jug, the mouth of which is painted in the colours of the jewel; and above a dish, from which the eagles and a woman's feet seem to protrude.

Quite analogously Codex Laud (Fig. 479) draws the god, who is painted a blue colour, as in this manuscript are invariably the male persons in the compartments indicating the day hours. In his upraised hand is a dish from which a quetzal bird drinks, and facing him is the goddess with her rubber ball in her hand. Above is figured a jewel (*chalchicuitl*).

But in the Codex Borgia picture (Fig. 480) the male member of the group is the Wind God (*Quetzalcouatl*), who holds bone dagger (*omítl*) and agave-leaf spike (*uitztlí*) in one hand, a bundle of stalks (*pacatl*, *tlacótl*) in the other, and the quetzal bird under his arm. Facing him we see *Xochiquetzal*, this time again with her wreath of white flowers in her hair, and in one hand holding a bundle of firwood (*tlatlaliquanhuquetzalli*), in the other a clay incense-pan (*tlaxcáuitl*).

Obviously in all these pictures the North is meant to be exhibited as the region of the knife and of sacrifice. Codex Laud and our manuscript are satisfied with showing the male counterpart to *Xochiquetzal*, the god *Xochipilli*, in his hand the sacrificial-blood dish, from which the solar bird drinks. But Codex Borgia replaces him with the God of Mortification and of Sacrifice, *Quetzalcouatl*, who now, as it seems, apparently in rather an inconsistent way, receives under his arm the quetzal bird, the solar bird that descends on the offerings and drinks from the dish.

Next comes the nineteenth picture, with which stands the cipher 20. This must now, on my theory, denote the tenth night hour and the West.

Here one might fancy the power of characterisation had forsaken the draughtsman, or rather the person who inspired these pictures, for the present picture seems to say much about the same as the one just described. So it is at least in Codex Borgia and in our manuscript, which this time agree more

closely with each other, while Codex Laud has a somewhat modified representation. In Codex Borgia (Fig. 482) and in our manuscript (Sheet 35 left below) we again see the divine pair:—*Xochiquetzal*, who in Codex Borgia is again portrayed with her wreath of white flowers in her hair, in our manuscript is arrayed in a costly *quechquemitl* and a costly *enagua*, and has her hair bound up with a parti-coloured band. Then her vis-à-vis, who this time in Codex Borgia, too, is a god simply painted red, is to be designated as *Xochipilli*, while in our manuscript is seen a god who is painted the usual skin colour, but appears to be indicated as a priest by the familiar red spot on the temple. In Codex Borgia the goddess again holds a bundle of firewood, while in both manuscripts the god has in his hand a large sacrificial knife (*tepetl*), which in Codex Borgia is fastened to a handle, but in our manuscript is figured simply as a leaf-shaped blade without any attachment. In our manuscript between the two figures is seen a jewel dish with a flower, hence a sacrificial-blood dish (*quauhtlicalli*), and above them a bone dagger and agave-leaf spike. In Codex Borgia between the two gods below is shown a sacrificial-blood dish, in which are stuck bone dagger and agave-leaf spike, each with its flower at the end, which means blood.



FIG. 481. Codex Laud 25  
(Kingsborough notation), right above.  
The Descent of a Jewel  
(of a Child).



FIG. 482. Codex Borgia 58 (= Kingsborough 57), lowest row.  
*Xochiquetzal* and *Xochipilli*, sacrificing for the  
Descent of a Child.  
Lords of the Tenth Night Hour and of the West.

Hence the two gods of this group seem to be represented simply as offerers, like those of the preceding eighteenth group.

Here the Codex Laud picture (Fig. 481) certainly shows some variation. The two gods here stand confronting each other in an attitude the particular meaning of which I cannot quite grasp. This time it is the goddess who is depicted in the submissive posture with arms crossed under her breast. The sacrificial-blood dish with its flower (denoting the blood) is here, too, shown between the two figures. And here, too, bone dagger and agave-leaf spike are stuck in the dish, but they are broken in two pieces. And above them are further given two bunches of *malinalti* grass. But under the dish hangs a *chalcuixitl*, a jewel below which is seen a footprint exactly between the two gods. I think we may still understand this in the same way as the footprints coming down from above, which are to be seen with *Tlaçotzotl*, ruler of the thirteenth *Tonalamantl* division in Codex Borbonicus, and which I have above reproduced at Fig. 51, p. 24. That is to say, the *chalcuixitl* with the footprint below it is intended to signify the descent of the jewel, namely, the descent of a child, which is effected by the very sacrifice that is represented by the blood. This picture thus becomes a thoroughly appropriate illustration of the region of the West, of the *civaltampa*, and a real parallel to the pictures as Figs. 455, 456 (*supra*, p. 219), which

in the first section of the night devoted the region of the West. The pictures given by Codex Borgia and by our manuscript are consequently to some extent incomplete, and require to be supplemented by the observer in accordance with their meaning. Codex Borgia and our manuscript merely show just the offerings that are needed for a child to be conceived and born. The notion that this gift, as well as other gifts of the gods, must be obtained by piety, by penitential exercises, is found in those chapters of Sahagun which treat in full detail of marriage, of conduct during pregnancy, at the birth, and so on. Perhaps in this picture, too, the special meaning of the scene is pointed at by the upturned gaze, in a sense drawing down from above, which in Codex Borgia the male member of this group seems to express by the attitude of his head and hand.

The twentieth picture, beside which is given the cipher 21, must accordingly denote the tenth day hour and also the West.



Fig. 483. Codex Lind 36  
(Kingsborough notation), left above.  
The Drawing out of Jewels (cocotl),  
the Birth of a Child.



Fig. 484. Codex Borgia 28  
(= Kingsborough 67), topmost row.  
Xochiquetzal, the Flower Goddess,  
and the Priest (Huanacaxtlan).  
Lords of the Tenth Day Hour and  
of the West.

Here Codex Borgia (Fig. 484) again simply depicts Xochiquetzal, who with one hand presents an offering, a bundle of firewood and rubber ball. Facing her is the priest (Huanacaxtlan), who is painted a blue colour all over his body and face, except the red patch on his temple, has stuck his bone dagger and his agave-leaf spike near his ear at the temple, and holds a bunch of *matlacalli* grass in his hand. Below are further added a couple of offerings.

This picture, too, we must, however, regard as incomplete. For a much more significant representation is shown by the two other manuscripts, both of which obviously exhibit the drawing of a chain of jewels out of the goddess, and by the god. Here the most distinct is our manuscript, where (Sheet 34, right below) we see the god drawing the chain out of the very mouth of the goddess. Here again this has without doubt a meaning like the descent of the jewel in the preceding picture. The jewel (*chalcuicuitl*), the neck ornament, the chain of beads (*cocotl*), the feather adornment (*quetzalli*), all this is still the child—*noyiltke, noxetque noxetzale*, 'my child, my chain of beads, my feather ornament'—as it runs in the 'Platica que haze el Padre al hijo, avisandole á amenestandole que sea bueno.' The god who draws out the *cocotl* is in both manuscripts painted a black colour, and in our manuscript has also, like the priest of the Codex Borgia picture, the implements of mortification, bone dagger and agave-leaf spike,

stuck near his ear at the temple. But in our manuscript this god is, moreover, not only provided with a remarkable radiant neck ornament, but is also furnished with the alternately yellow and black cross stripes, the *itlan tlalxan*, of the God *Tezontlipoca's* face-painting. The *Tezontlipoca* who thus in a sense here presents himself as a kind of birth-helping god, as an accoucheur, is known as a magician. Perhaps it was in this connection that he also gave proof of his qualifications as a physician.



Fig. 485. Codex Lond 36  
(Kingsborough notation), right above.

*Xochiquetzal and Xochipilli, disguised as Quetzal Birds, joining in the Circular Dance.*  
Lords of the Eleventh Night Hour and of the South.



Fig. 486. Codex Borjia 58  
(= Kingsborough 37), topmost row.



Fig. 487. Codex Lond 37  
(Kingsborough notation),  
left above.

*Xochiquetzal and Xochipilli, the Sacrificing Priests.* Rulers of the Eleventh Day Hour and of the South.

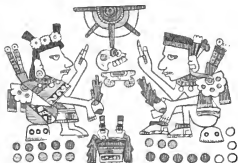


Fig. 488. Codex Borjia 59 (= Kingsborough 36), topmost row.

The next following twenty-first picture, by the artist indicated with the cipher 22, must now, on my assumption, correspond to the eleventh night hour and the region of the South.

In the first half of the night in the ninth picture (cf. Figs. 459, 460 *supra*, p. 221) we met the two Musical Gods in the hour which answers to the South, that is, in the fifth night hour. Here we have before us *Gods of the Dance*, and indeed uniformly in all three manuscripts. For the two gods disguised as quetzal birds (Figs. 485 and 486, and our manuscript, Sheet 34, lower middle) hold between them a chain of beads which symbolises the dancers linked together in a circular dance, exactly as in the picture

on Sheet 40, right below, in our manuscript, and in the corresponding pictures of the two other manuscripts (Figs. 451, 452 *supra*, p. 217). The two gods disguised as quetzal birds again of course represent *Xochiquetzal* and *Xochipilli*. The first is indicated by her enagua and by the child which (in the Codex Borgia) she holds in her arm, the second by his red colour and the loin-cloth with which he is wrapped. The artistically ornamented ehair which in the Codex Borgia picture this male quetzal bird holds in his arm is perhaps a mark of royal dignity. Remarkable in the picture in our manuscript is the distinct attitude of submission in which the female quetzal bird is represented. This, as well as the pose of the male quetzal's head turned upwards, recalls the above-described pictures (Fig. 481 of Codex Laud and Sheet 35, left below, of our manuscript) by which conception was expressed. And here, too, in our manuscript between the quetzal gods joining in the circular dance a quetzal bird is seen descending from above.

The twenty-second picture, beside which stands the cipher 23, must now denote both the eleventh day hour and the South.

Here in all three manuscripts we see figured together death symbols, skulls and cross-bones. In Codex Laud (Fig. 487) and in our manuscript (Sheet 34, left below) the god seems to be actually making a dangerous attack on the goddess. The weapon which the god turns against the goddess has in our manuscript the form of a swordfish's sword, to which at the broad end is fixed a longish spike as a point. The goddess of Codex Laud has a clay incense-pan (*tlenuitl*) in her hand. The goddess of our manuscript seems intended to be characterised as *Tloquecōtl* by two spinules in her hair and an ear-plug of unspan cotton, as well as by the tuft of grass held in her hand.

In Codex Borgia, on the contrary (Fig. 488), the two deities are seen seated peacefully opposite each other. They are both dressed as priests, as both carry the tobacco calabash (*yetecōmōtl*) on their shoulder. Both hold a bleeding heart in their hand. And on the ground between them stands a dish full of blood, a genuine *quauhcōalli*, showing the same decoration, the eagle-feathers on the upper brim, as the sacrificial dishes (*quauhcōalli*) of Codex Borbonicus, and as the stone originals which I described at the time in the *Ethnologische Notizblatt*.<sup>1</sup> In the dish are here stuck two arrow-shafts, which are doubtless meant for sucking-reeds—the reeds with which the gods are supposed to drink the blood out of the dish.

Accordingly the Codex Borgia picture seems intended to represent sacrificial death, and to indicate the South as the region of sacrificial death. Amongst the Mexicans this was a prevalent association of ideas, since it is the Sun itself to which the offerings are directed, to which are presented the blood and the hearts of the victims. And this notion of the South as the region of sacrificial death we have similarly found expressed with manifold variation in the pictures which in the lowest row of Sheets 7 and 8 accompany the fourth quarter of the *Tonalāmōtl* disposed in columns of five members.

On the other hand I should rather be inclined to regard the corresponding pictures of the two other manuscripts as illustrations of war and of the warrior's death, which indeed from analogous associations of ideas may be considered no less characteristic for the South, the region of the Sun God. The two footsteps turned upwards shown in the Codex Laud picture (Fig. 487) beside the cross-bones might denote the dead man, that is, the immolated warrior himself going straight to heaven.

The twenty-third picture, with which is given the cipher 24, must now, on my theory, denote the twelfth night hour and the upper region.

Here we meet the remarkable pictures which I have already figured above (p. 146) with the fourth day-count. In Codex Borgia (Fig. 490) we see a distinctly obscene picture. In the middle is the priest (*tlamācāzqui*), or also *Xochipilli* as priest, who, as in two pictures back, is painted a blue colour all over his body except the red patch on his temple; but here, instead of the end of the loin-cloth, he wears the long

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II, part I (Berlin 1899), pp. 14-21, and vol. III, part I (Berlin 1900), pp. 125-128.



tail-end of a red coral snake, which has either a directly obscene meaning, or is to be brought into association with the figure of the penitent adulterer above pictured at p. 19, whom there also we found accompanied by a red coral snake. This *Xochipilli-tlamazcuzqui* is here depicted between two figures of *Xochiquetzal*, who perfectly resemble each other in their head-dressing and the wreath of white (*izquirochitl*) flowers in their hair. But the one to the left is completely clothed even to the hips. She holds a quetzal bird under her arm, the meaning of which must doubtless be inferred from the groups figured with the eighth day hour (Figs. 465, 466 *supra*, p. 225, and our manuscript, Sheet 37, middle below); and she has seized him by the forelock, that is, she has captured him, or laid claim to him as his lawful wife. The other *Xochiquetzal* to the right of the picture is distinctly naked. By the implements of war figured beside her she is characterised as one of the female associates of the bachelor warriors, as a courtesan, a harlot (*amioni*, *magui*), and she illustrates clearly enough the part which she plays by the obscene action which the *tlamazcuzqui* permits himself in her presence.

Now, this very plain picture of Codex Borgia is in an interesting way replaced in the two other



Fig. 489. Codex Lindl 37  
(Kingsborough notation), right above.  
The *tlamazcuzqui* with the *Lizani* (*caetzpalin*),  
the Sign of Incontinence.



Fig. 490. Codex Borgia 59 (= Kingsborough 56), topmost row.  
*Xochipilli-tlamazcuzqui* and the two Goddesses of Love,  
*Xochiquetzal* and the Harlot (*amioni*, *magui*),  
Ruler of the Twelfth Night Hour and of the Upper Region.

manuscripts by another (Fig. 489, and our manuscript, Sheet 33, right below), where we see the *tlamazcuzqui* together with one of the *Xochiquetzals*, the draped one, who holds the quetzal bird under her arm. But here the artist, by putting the figure of the lizard (*caetzpalin*) under the arm of the *tlamazcuzqui*, has symbolised incontinence in a way perfectly intelligible at least to contemporary observers. On this point compare what was above stated (pp. 145, 146) with the fourth day-count. In our manuscript, as well as in Codex Borgia, the relation to the *magui*, the female companions of the warriors, is further specially expressed by the hieroglyph of war.

Thus these pictures, too, are perfectly clear. To me, however, it is not so clear why these particular pictures should be meant for an illustration of the upper region. We must doubtless assume that it was the intention of the artist to bring incontinence or the sexual passion into association with the Gods of Procreation who dwell in the uppermost heaven; or else that in this series, which is properly speaking entirely devoted to *Xochiquetzal*, he was unable to express the warriors and the warriors' lot, that is, their immolation and despatch to heaven — *ihuicac yauh*, 'he that goes to heaven,' is the name of the sacrificial warrior's soul — except by the picture of the warriors' female associates, of the *magui*, of those joining in the dance, the *amioni*, the courtesans.

The twenty-fourth picture, beside which stands the cipher 25, must on my theory indicate the twelfth day hour and the lower region. And in fact in the Codex Borgia picture (Fig. 492) we see the lower region, or the downward movement, the earthward movement, clearly illustrated by the object figured near the lower margin of the compartment — a skull into which a man tumbling head foremost disappears. The remaining contents of the picture, however, show, strictly speaking, scarcely anything that might be forthwith brought into association with the lower region. And the same must be said of the Codex Laud picture (Fig. 491) and that of our manuscript (Sheet 33, middle below). In these pictures the essential element seems everywhere to be a *cozcaltl*, a piece of neck jewellery, a chain of beads, or any jewel or costly object whatsoever. For in Codex Laud and in our manuscript the god who in our manuscript is painted a red colour, as *Xochipilli*, is seen presenting a *cozcaltl* to the goddess. And in our manuscript above is further seen a dish with a chain of beads (*cozcaltl*).

In Codex Borgia the goddess, who here again is portrayed as *Xochiquetzal*, with her wreath of



Fig. 491. Codex Laud 38  
(Kingsborough notation), left above.  
*Xochiquetzal* and *Xochipilli*, the Gods of Wealth.



Fig. 492. Codex Borgia 60 (= Kingsborough 55),  
topmost row.  
The Lords of the Twelfth Day Hour and of the Lower Region.

white (*izqui-cochitl*) flowers in her hair, holds a chain of flowers in her hand, though to be sure the god has nothing in his but bone dagger and agave-leaf spike. But behind both figures is shown a small bundle, at one end of which is drawn a flower, at the other two jewelled things.

I believe these pictures are intended to exhibit to the observer the richness, the exuberance, the fruitfulness of the earth, of which the goddess *Xochiquetzal* may be regarded as decidedly the special representative, and that here by the earth is meant the lower region.

There still remains the last, the twenty-fifth picture, beside which the draughtsman has set the  $2 \times 13$  dots, the cipher 26.

The artist of Codex Borgia (Fig. 494) has included this group mainly with the night hours, as in their upper margin he has introduced the symbol of evening (*tlapoyana*), which is composed of the solar picture and the sign of night. In this compartment are represented the two old gods with the white heron-feather hair, the white heron-feather beard, and the ring-shaped appendage below the upper lip, which stands on the contracted corners of the mouth in an aged person's face. Both are represented as priests, that is, with the tobacco calabash (*yetecocmall*) on their back, which

is the badge of the priests,<sup>1</sup> and the god is further distinguished as a priest by the red patch on his temple. The god holds in one hand a staff, the upper end of which, bent downwards, affects the form of a heron's head, hence may be called an *octotopilli*, and in the other a bunch of *matinalli* grass. The goddess, who in other respects is garbed as *Xochiquetzal*, holds a long-stalked eye in one hand.

The god is evidently identical with the person who presents himself on Sheet 24 (= Kingsborough 15) of Codex Borjia as eighteenth in a series of twenty gods (Fig. 495), and with the old god who is



Fig. 493. Codex Laud 3v  
(Kingsborough notation),  
right above.



Fig. 494. Codex Borjia 60 (= Kingsborough 55), topmost row.  
*Ixtac Mircuani* and *Huacacayotl*, the old God of Heaven, the old Earth  
Goddess. Lords of the Middle end of the Thirteenth Hour.



Fig. 495. *Ixtac Mircuani*,  
the old God of Heaven, the Eighteenth in  
the Series of the Twenty Gods.  
Codex Borjia 21 (= Kingsborough 16).



Fig. 496. *Ixtac Mircuani*, the old God of Heaven,  
the Sixth of the Celestial Wanderers.  
Codex Borjia 55 (= Kingsborough 60).

figured in deer form on Sheet 55 (= Kingsborough 60) of Codex Borjia (Fig. 496) and in Codex Fejérváry (Fig. 497), and stands as sixth in the series of six gods whom I have designated as the six Celestial Wanderers, and more fully described in my elucidation of Codex Fejérváry-Mayer.<sup>2</sup> The goddess is to be classed with the old woman at the millstone, whom we above found figured with *Xochiquetzal*, ruler

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Seier, 'Die Hilderhandschriften Alexander von Humboldt's in der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin.' *Gesammte Abhandlungen zur mexikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde*, Berlin (Dietrich Reimer) 1902, vol. I, pp. 156, 157.—Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königl. Museum f. Völkerkunde, vi. part 2 (Berlin 1899), pp. 42-44.—Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, Berlin and London 1901-1902, pp. 82, 123, 160, 161, 176.

<sup>2</sup> Berlin and London, 1901-1902, pp. 156-171.

of the twentieth day-count (cf. Figs. 395, 396, 397 *supra*, pp. 188, 190). In my elucidation of Codex Fejérváry-Mayer I have applied the names *Ixtac Micoanatl* and *Ilanueyotl* to these deities, whom *Mohlinus* and *Mendieta* mention as the old gods dwelling in *Chicomoctoc*, 'the seven caves,' from whom are sprung the races of men. But these gods might just as well be called *Tonacatecutli* and *Tonacacianatl*, or simply *Umetotec* and *Ilanatecutli*. In my commentary on Codex Fejérváry I have advanced the view that these two gods have to be brought into line with the uppermost region of heaven, with the Milky Way or the Zenith. But with equal justice they may also be identified with the Earth. For they obviously represent, one (the male member) the sky, the other (the female member) the Earth. And the Earth, the direction from above downwards, we likewise see symbolised in our Codex Borgia picture (Fig. 494) by the man plunging head over heels into the throat of Earth (*cipaetli* throat). But since they thus represent both heaven and earth, the upward as well as the downward direction, they become the decidedly appropriate expression for the *middle of the world*. They are the *Itzoque nauaque*, 'the Lords of the Immediatè Neighbourhood,' the *ihuicacul*, the 'Lord of Heaven,' and the *Italticpaque*, 'the Lord of the Surface of the Earth,' thus coinciding with the old god, the Fire God, with whom they are in fact one by nature.

The horn-feather staff (*axtatopilli*) is carried by this god because he is the old, the grey, the white-haired. They are garbed as priests, and represented with signs of sacrifice, the *matinalli*



Fig. 497. *Ixtac Micoanatl*, the old God of Heaven.  
Sixth of the Six Celestial Wanderers.  
Codex Fejérváry 32 (= Kingsborough 12).

shouts. For war yielded offerings, the sun could not be born until there were blood and hearts wherewith to nourish it. And blood and hearts could not be brought until war which yielded the victims existed in the world. And the very first to be captured and slain was the primal goddess, the Earth Goddess, who is therefore likewise a goddess of war. Such is the traditional Mexican teaching.<sup>1</sup> The other objects which are further seen in Codex Borgia figured with these two gods, are dishes with chains of jewels (*cozcatl*) and with quetzal feathers (*quetzalli*). They characterise these two gods as Lords of Wealth, as Lords of Plenty, and perhaps as Lords, too, of the other notions which for the Mexicans were associated with the words *cozcatl* and *quetzalli*.

Compared with this fully carried out and characteristic picture in Codex Borgia, the representations of the two other manuscripts, Codex Laud (Fig. 483) and our manuscript (Sheet 33, left below), have a rather jejune appearance. The goddess in our manuscript is perhaps to be recognised as *old* from her carriage. The god, likewise in our manuscript, is distinctly indicated as *Xochipilli* by the red longitudinal line under the eye. The goddess holds high up in one hand a dish with a flower, a sacrificial blood vessel, from which a quetzal bird is drinking. Facing her is the god, also represented seated in his

<sup>1</sup> 'Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas,' l. c.

chair, and in the several times described attitude of submissiveness. The dish with the sacrificial bird distinguishes these two gods as offerers, while the quetzal bird drinking from the dish denotes, perhaps the descent on the offering, and possibly descent in general. But more cannot be inferred from these pictures. They become intelligible only when compared with the Codex Borjia pictures.

Such is the series of the five-and-twenty divine pairs, who fall into a section of twice twelve groups, and one pair over. What I ventured on general considerations hesitatingly to assume regarding the significance of this series has been almost completely confirmed by a separate study of the pictures. But in conclusion I must here direct attention to a few points.

To this chapter I have given the heading 'The Five-and-twenty Divine Pairs.' For this, as results from the above researches, I might have substituted 'the thirteen hours of the night and the thirteen hours of the day.' But it might perhaps have been more correct to head the chapter '*Xochiquetzal's* Five-and-twenty Forms of Presentation.' For it is this goddess who is the chief person in all these pictures, and constitutes the proper subject of the representation. This goddess, about whom we have little to learn from the Mexican sources proper, but more from the Tlaxcaltec (*Diego Muñoz Camargo* and others), manifestly stood in close relation with the priestly school to whom it is to be ascribed the plan and execution of these pictorial writings. This was at once made evident in the pictures on the first eight sheets which we found accompanying the *Tonalnamtli* disposed in columns of five members in a lower and an upper series. For there *Xochipilli* and *Xochiquetzal* everywhere reappeared. And it seems to me not altogether improbable that the variations brought to our knowledge by the  $2 \times 12 + 1$  group of the just-described series, may also be again discovered in those  $4 \times 26$  pictures, in such modified forms as seem appropriate to the four *Tonalnamtli* quarters, that is, to the four main directions, and thus perhaps the results there obtained by me in an empirical way, results which, I frankly admit, do not always quite satisfy me, may receive a fresh illustration. I am not, however, at present in a position to subject those  $4 \times 26$  pictures to another fresh study from this point of view.

Lastly, I feel that an explanation is due to the reader for my assumption that we have here simply thirteen day and thirteen night hours, whereas I endeavoured in a previous essay<sup>1</sup> to show that the Mexicans, at least for divination purposes and on mystic considerations, reckoned nine night hours and thirteen day hours, and had exhibited the guardians of these nine night and thirteen day hours in continuous series beside the signs of their days. These two determinations, the present and the previous, are in truth contradictory. But I do not think that this is at once a proof that one of the two views is false and must be given up. We cannot expect that in these pictorial documents no contradictions will arise. The nine and the thirteen are related numerals. The nine corresponds with the quaternary number of directions, the thirteen with the sexenary number of directions. For the parallelism of these two numerals in my previous essay itself I brought together quite a large number of proofs. In that work, from the statements contained in *Father Juan de Chibora's* Zapotec Grammar, I exhibited an hour-sequence for the day and the night, and I here arrived at the result that the division into hours was originally and properly alike, that *day and night would each strictly speaking have counted nine hours*, but that in order to establish a parallel with heaven and the underworld, in the *Tonalnamtli* the day hours were raised to *thirteen* by the addition of the first two and last two night hours. It will be granted that what one priestly school found itself obliged to assume for the day hours on the ground of certain mystic considerations, another priestly school might equally regard as valid for the night hours, too, on the ground of other mystic considerations. But it is also unquestionable that, as regards the application of the nine or the thirteen, vacillations occur in the extant sources, just as and for like reasons vacillations occurred in respect of the number of the heavenly quarters, of which now four, now six, were enumerated. In

<sup>1</sup> The *Tonalnamtli* of the Ashm collection, Berlin and London, 1900-1901, pp. 18-35.

Sahagun and in the Mexican sources proper the number of the heavens is undoubtedly assumed to be thirteen, and according to Sahagun the Lords of Procreation dwell in the uppermost, the thirteenth heaven. But according to the Texcaltoc and other sources there appears to be question of a ninefold number of heavens. According to *Diego Muñoz Camargo Xochiquetzal* dwells, not 'above the nine heavens,' but in the *chincuanahuapantlucan*, in the 'ninefold enclained.' If the day and night hours, as seems to follow from *Juan de Córdova's* statements, were reckoned at nine, and if, as is placed beyond doubt by the series of the nine Lords of Night, in the ordinary books of divination the night was divided into nine sections, this happened just because the number of divisions obtained from the number of the heavenly quarters on the basis of a quaternary number of the heavenly quarters, was also applied to the time-divisions. It would indeed be surprising if the other number of divisions of the thirteon, obtained on the basis of a sexenary number of the heavenly quarters, were not also somewhere or other adopted for the same time-divisions.

### XIII. The Six Rain Gods.

Sheets 43-48 (= Kingsborough 91-96).

The sexenary number of the heavenly quarters which has already been twice dealt with on the sheets of our manuscript—in the upper halves of Sheets 9-11 (cf. *supra*, pp. 65-70) and in the lower halves of the same sheets (cf. *supra*, pp. 70-76)—and which also implicitly underlies the just-elucidated interesting series of the twenty-five divine pairs, is here once more placed before the observer in the form of six figures of the Rain God *Tlaloc*, and beside them are given six columns of day-counts which, combined with the intervening members indicated only by coloured circles, make up a complete *Tonalamatl* disposed in columns of five members. As regards the sequence of the heavenly quarters, it is to some extent doubtful whether we have here the usual order, the one for instance that was adopted in the first series of the gods of the six directions (*supra*, pp. 65-70). The *East* begins, and the *North* follows; but then, as we shall see, it seems as if the *South* were next represented, and after it the *West*.

On all these sheets above is to be seen a clouded sky executed in diverse ways, and nearly all the remaining space on the sheet is occupied with the figure of the Rain God, who is drawn on a large scale. In his right hand he holds an axe, in his left a black spotted rattlesnake, only in the last, the sixth, picture the snake is not held in his hand but coiled round his neck. In accordance with the several quarters of the heavens which he denotes, the god is painted in diverse colours and equipped with diverse badges. Thereby the change of colour affects both the body and the face, as well as the clothes and the various parts of the decoration that consist of textile fabrics. Thus the clothes, the various bands, and so on, are, as usual, painted in cross stripes of two colours. Of these one is green and sprinkled with rubber (*olpiguane*), and this is the colour specially appropriate to the Rain God. Hence in all six pictures these stripes are alike. But the other, the ground colour of the garments, changes with the colour of the body according to the several quarters of the heavens. Thus it is respectively *black, yellow, red, black, green*, and again *yellow* with the Rain God of the East, North, South, West, the upper and the lower region.

On the first sheet, where is figured the Rain God of the East, above is seen a clouded sky, whose ground colour is dark (green picked out in black), while the Rain God is painted a black colour. He, and

he alone of all the six figures, has before his mouth the involuted object like a snake's throat which I have above (p. 108) discussed with the description of the physiognomy of the Rain God. The face of the god looks out from the open jaws of a bird drawn in the style of a quetzal bird, but with long-pointed beak. On his head he wears the eye enveloped in darkness, the sign of the dark sky. His collar is painted in the colours of the *chalcixitl*, and his breast ornament is a golden disk. Before him in a jewelled dish stands a maize plant, which bears a long male inflorescence and maize-ears in abundance. At its base are seen, on one side a rubber ball, on the other a rattle-stick (*chicauacalli*). By all these distinctive marks the East seems, as usual, meant to be indicated as a region of fertility.

On the second sheet the Rain God of the North must be figured. For the Mexicans the North passed on a region of drought. Accordingly, the maize plant standing before the god is here shown attacked by rodents, insects, and worms, quite in the same way as in the section of a familiar sheet devoted to the North, which I have already once referred to, and which illustrates the four years and their augural significance. But quite contrary to what one would expect, the sky above the god is not pictured as a fiery, parching sky. On the contrary, a copious stream of water is seen flowing from it over one whole side of the sheet, although on the other side is shown the picture of the sun, from which a corresponding stream of blood runs down over the whole side of the sheet, and in it are seen a spear, a shield, a heart, cross-bones, and a skull. The inconsistency, I think, is explained if we take the stream of water not as rain water, but as the *teotl*, the 'real atl,' that is, spear-throwing, war. Hence also the sun in the right corner of the picture, and the stream of blood, and spear, and shield, and the symbols of death which are seen floating in the stream of blood. The North is the region of the stone knife and of the Gods of War.—Here the Rain God is painted a yellow colour and surrounded by fiery snakes. Before his mouth is a stone knife, and his face looks out from the open jaws of a snake. His collar is a solar disk enclosing a core of turquoise mosaic; and his breast ornament is a stone knife painted in the Rain God's colour—green sprinkled with rubber.

In the two following sheets it would seem as if here the usual order of the heavenly quarters had been reversed. For here the God of the South appears to be first exhibited, and then after him the God of the West.

On the next sheet (45) we see the upper margin occupied by a sky, the ground of which is painted yellow, the colour of fire, while fire descends from it to the earth. The god figured on the sheet is red, and his face looks out from the open jaws of a snake furnished with ears. Above his head is seen the trapeze-shaped figure which, combined with the ray, represents the reduced form of the solar picture and the sign for the year, and as a rule is also seen at the tail-end of the dragon (*xihcoatl*). A broad turquoise band forms the god's necklace, and to it as a breast ornament is attached the blue double-headed snake, which we have already met as the Rain God's breast ornament (cf. Fig. 414 *supra*, p. 198). While all this is decidedly more suggestive of the South, still on the other hand the symbol which is seen before the god and must represent the *Cinalli*, the maize house, seems to contain an allusion to the West.

On the following sheet (46) we see the upper margin again formed by a sky whose ground colour, like that of the East, is dark (green picked out in black). And this surely again implies that this sheet is to be taken for that of the West. Here *Quetzalcoatl*, the Wind God, appears as the Rain God in his typical equipment, but with the eye, the lip-snake, and the teeth of the Wind God, and blowing fire from his mouth. As breast ornament he wears on a chain of beads the jewel (*chalcixitl*) ornament, which we have elsewhere met with *Xochipilli* and related deities. Before him is seen a fire vessel, on which are a rubber ball with an attachment of a full bunch of quetzal feathers, and a yellow snake coiled up in a knot.

The next sheet (47) must now denote the upper region. Its upper margin is formed by a clouded sky whose ground colour is a light blue filled all over with black spots, while face and clothes of the god are painted a green colour. His helmet-mask is again formed by a snake's throat. Before him, squeezed into

a dish, are a bundle of firewood surmounted by a rubber ball, two maize-cars, and a young maize plant. Behind him there seems to be figured on a large scale the object like a snake's throat, which we met in miniature before the mouth of the first of these six Rain Gods, the Rain God of the East.

On the last sheet (48) we again find a fiery sky like that of the third sheet. But down it flows a stream of water, while a sheet of water also covers the ground of the compartment below. In it is seen a *cipactli*, a crocodile—the 'fish of which the world is made'—which has here seized a man with its teeth. This *cipactli* figure doubtless shows that this Rain God is meant for the Rain God of the lower region. The god of this sheet is depicted in a remarkable and divergent manner. He is yellow and stark naked, with exposed penis and prominent anal vent. Possibly to the artists it seemed inconsistent to picture the Rain God as a skeleton, so they chose this form to represent the bare naked earth destitute of rain. On his head this god wears a stone knife painted in the colours of the Rain God—green sprinkled with rubber.









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